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LITTLE BOOKS ON ART

GENERAL EDITOR: CYRIL DAVENPORT

CLAUDE

LITTLE BOOKS ON ART

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Claude

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CLAUDE

BY

EDWARD DILLON, M.A.

WITH FORTY ILLUSTRATIONS

METHUEN & CO.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.
LONDON

First Published in 1905

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PREFACE

IT was while I was engaged in correcting the last pages of this little book that I read the announcement of the death of Lady Dilke. It is to *Claude Lorrain, sa Vie et ses Œuvres* that all who are in search of detailed information concerning the life and work of Claude must turn. In the following pages I have, I think, brought together nearly all that is known from contemporary sources of the life and work of the painter. An attempt is also made to illustrate this very scanty record by some account of the world in which Claude passed his long life—of the city, the Campagna, and of the circle of cosmopolitan friends.

The last two chapters stand in place of a complete list of the works of Claude.

My thanks are due to Lady Wantage for allowing me to include a reproduction of the "Enchanted Castle" among the illustrations of this little book, also to Dr. Scholton, the Curator of the Teyler Museum at Haarlem, for his courtesy in forwarding me a photograph of a letter by Claude preserved in that museum, and finally to Mr. G. F. Hill, of the British Museum, for the trouble he has taken in preparing for me casts of the Papal medals that are here illustrated.

E. D.

CLAUDE

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE

Claude's position in landscape art—Sources of information for his life—Early life.

THERE can be little doubt that in any general view of the history of landscape painting a most important position must be assigned to Claude Lorraine. Not that he is in any way to be regarded as the greatest genius that ever devoted himself to the rendering of landscape. Far from it—his limited intellectual capacities that never allowed of his shaking himself free from the artificial *milieu* in which his whole life was spent would alone prevent us from putting him on a level with his mighty forerunners and contemporaries in Venice, in Flanders, and in Holland. The Rome of the seventeenth century was no place for the development of a great

Note.—I have kept to the usual English spelling of the artist's name—Claude Lorraine. The more correct form is of course Claude Lorrain, or Claude de Lorraine.

original artist, and we must remember that Claude was in everything but in birth a Roman of the later Renaissance, and that in a sense that is true of scarcely any one of his contemporaries. This is a point of view to which we shall have to return again and again.

The importance of Claude lies rather in the fact that so many and so various "streams of tendency," so many tentative interpretations of nature, meet in him and find in his canvases their first complete consummation, so that his scheme of composition and massing of light and shade became almost a law to succeeding generations. Nay, even at the present day, in spite of the many protests from art critics and from painters against his artificiality and poverty of execution, Claude is still a living influence in the world of art.

Moreover, we must not forget that apart from one or two of his Dutch contemporaries, Claude is the earliest painter who made a great name by his landscape work alone. Rubens was, at least in my opinion, a greater man than Claude, even as a landscape painter, but his influence in this department of his work on his successors was less commanding. Titian's influence, undoubtedly great and constantly working, was already as it were dissipated and transfused before the middle of the seventeenth century. As for Claude himself, he was only influenced by Titian in an indirect way, by Rubens not at all.

Claude is naturally claimed by the French as one of the glories of their school. But this is

only true in a limited sense, and it was hardly the view of his contemporaries—still less of the artist himself. He looked upon himself as a Lorrainer, and was evidently proud of his origin. It is extremely difficult nowadays with our definite conceptions of nationality to throw ourselves back into the seventeenth-century point of view in such matters. This is, however, a question of some importance not only with reference to the position of Claude himself—it concerns also the whole history of landscape painting in Europe. Indeed, it is not too much to assert that the fact that Claude was born in the central land which was neither French nor German, but which for centuries had been closely connected with the Netherlands on the one hand and with Italy on the other, is a most significant fact in our present history. We may indeed claim that Claude was born just where in theory his birth ought to have taken place, and the fact of his early migration to Rome is equally justified on theoretical grounds. In a future chapter we may find occasion to develop this argument, for the present it is enough to call to mind that historically the importance of Claude's position lies in the fact that in and through him the landscape art of the North—Netherlandish, Burgundian, or what not—was first thoroughly acclimatised in Italy, and assumed a thoroughly Italian garb. The Italians had long been nibbling, as it were, at the Northern landscape—from the fifteenth century, if not from an earlier time, the Northern influence may be traced in their landscape backgrounds. Again, the

earlier men who came from the North to Rome—the Brills and the Elsheimers—arrived as already well-trained artists, nor did even the few that ended their days in the Holy City ever become thoroughly Italianised. Claude, on the other hand, although by race and temperament a Northerner, received his whole artistic training in the South. It is only with him that the assimilation became complete.

Before we attempt to piece together the scanty and in a measure contradictory evidence concerning the facts of Claude's life, it will be necessary to give the reader some idea of the sources from which this evidence is derived.

We have first a few, unfortunately very few, references to Claude in contemporary legal documents. These are precious landmarks of which the biographer must endeavour to make the fullest use, fitting them in as best he can among the vague gossip of the more or less contemporary writers. Then, in the second place, there are the inscriptions and dates on his pictures, and above all upon his drawings—many of them indeed of doubtful interpretation, others quite illegible. Finally, we have the writers of the lives of artists, who in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries followed, at a distance, in the steps of Vasari.

Now of the earlier of these biographers, of those who were in part at least contemporary with Claude, only two include our artist among their biographies, and it is from what these two tell us that nine-tenths of what we know of

Claude's life is derived. I refer to Joachim Sandrart, the author of the *Teutsche Academie*, and to Filippo Baldinucci, the compiler of the *Notizie de' Professori del Disegno*.

As to the references to Claude in the later biographies, those written in the eighteenth century by Pascoli and D'Argenville for instance, these must be received with the greatest caution. Of more value to us are certain contemporary writers who, though they do not include Claude among their "Lives," yet throw more or less light upon his surroundings. Of these the most important are Félibien, the official art historian of Louis XIV., and above all Passeri, who in his entertaining *Vita dei Pittori* brings vividly before us the manners and ways of life of the artists living in Rome in the first half of the seventeenth century, more especially what we may call the Bohemian side of this life.

It is, however, upon Sandrart and upon Baldinucci that we must rely for nearly all that we know of the life, especially of the early life, of Claude.

Now Sandrart, whom we must regard as on the whole the more trustworthy of the two, had been intimately acquainted with Claude. During the six or seven years of his youth that the German artist spent in Rome, the two appear to have been inseparable—they lived and painted together. Sandrart, though the junior of Claude by some six years, had already had much experience of the world, and the general impression that we get from his account of their life in

Rome is that it was he who first brought Claude out of his shell, so to speak, and started him upon that career of unbroken success that continued to the end of his life. But Sandrart, we must remember, was not yet thirty when he finally left Rome; in the forty years that intervene between that time and the publication of his *Teutsche Academie* all that he could have learnt about the friend of his youth would be confined to casual notices in the letters from members of the old circle in Rome—from Pieter de Laer, from Pietro da Cortona, or from Guercino. With Claude himself there is no question of a correspondence—he was no letter-writer. Sandrart's account must be regarded then as, in the main, the reminiscence of an old man writing of events that an active and busy life must have thrown back into a hazy and perhaps somewhat idealised past. But he dwells with evident pleasure on this early life in Rome. There is a freshness and enthusiasm about what he tells us of this time, not only in the actual life of Claude, but in other passages scattered through the book, that form a pleasant contrast with so much of the context. For after all, the general impression that we get of Sandrart from his huge, cumbersome volumes is that of a rather pompous and vain old man.

Baldinucci, the other biographer of Claude, was a man of a somewhat similar stamp, but his point of view was quite different. A Florentine of good family and a courtly writer (his collected works occupy fourteen volumes in the collection of great Italian writers published at Milan early

in the last century), he visited Rome shortly before the death of Claude to collect materials for his voluminous lives of contemporary artists. This part of Baldinucci's work was not published till many years after his death. He appears to have interviewed Claude's nephew, Jean, and the Abbé Joseph, the son of the latter, and, indeed, claims to have paid a visit to Claude himself in his studio. It is generally held that his account of Claude's early life, which differs materially from that given by Sandrart, was coloured by the natural desire of the young ecclesiastic to gloss over the humble origin of his famous great-uncle.

In any case, the chronology of this and other parts of Baldinucci's "Life" is so hopelessly confused that we can put little trust in the narrative.

On Sandrart, then, we must mainly depend for an account of Claude's early life. Let us turn to the second part of this bulky work, to the twenty-third chapter of the third book.¹

¹ I shall keep as near as possible to the text of the 1675 edition. The German of the seventeenth century is not precisely a luminous literary vehicle, and in this case it is sometimes difficult to follow the logical connection of succeeding sentences. The local colour and the individuality, however, of the author are better preserved than in the Latin translation executed to order by a certain Christian Rhod and published in 1681. This later text is given in full by Lady Dilke in her life of Claude, and appears to have been the only one consulted by English and French writers. We find in this later text a few unimportant additions, and in one case a few lines of the original German are not translated.

“If ever anyone,” so Sandrart begins, “from a humble origin or state of ignorance has attained to so great a skill in painting that his fame is spread through all the world, this is assuredly the case with our Claudius Gilli, generally known as Lorraine from his fatherland. Of him there are marvellous adventures to be told. For when his parents found that he was learning little or absolutely nothing in the writing-school to which they had sent him, they apprenticed him to a pastry-cook.¹ Now after he had gained some experience in this trade, he set out with several of his companions to find employment in Rome, where there are a great number of cooks and pastry-cooks from Lorraine. In his ignorance, however, of the Italian tongue and in his lack of all accomplishments, he could find no suitable employment, and he took refuge in the house of a gifted painter named Taso [Tassi], a man who, although a victim to gout, was much loved for his cheerful disposition.”

Of this Tassi, who played so important a part in the early life of Claude, there will be much to say, but we must now turn to our other authority.

“Of John Gellée and of Anne Padose,” so Baldinucci commences his narrative, “there was born at Chamagne, a village of Lorraine, in the diocese of Toul, in the year of our salvation 1600,

¹ Sandrart returns to this statement in his index as if to accentuate it; here the only reference to Claude takes this form: “*Gilli, sonst Lorraine genannt, wird aus einem Pasteten-becker ein Mahler.*”

that excellent painter of landscapes, perspectives and marines, Claudio Gellée ; he was the third of five male children. . . . The lad Claude had barely reached his twelfth year when it was the will of heaven that he should lose both his parents. Placed as he was and seeing that he was gifted with a talent for drawing, he betook himself to his elder brother John, who was established at Freiburg, in Alsace, as a prosperous engraver upon wood, and under his care he for about a year found employment in drawing arabesques and foliage. As good luck would have it, it fell out that just at this time a relation of his, a lace merchant, was setting out on a journey to Rome. He had no difficulty in arranging that Claude should bear him company. On his arrival at this realm of every sublime art, he took lodgings not far from the Rotonda. Starting from the elements of drawing learnt from his brother, he studied hard without further assistance."

However divergent these two accounts may be, they agree in accentuating the fact that Claude was a Lorrainer, and in both we find incidental evidence of a steady intercourse between his native land and Italy. The road lies by way of Freiburg, a town which by Baldinucci is somewhat strangely placed in Alsace. We shall see that when Claude revisited his birthplace his way again lay through Germany; only on his journey back to Rome did he, for the first and last time, enter the dominions of the French king. On that occasion he travelled by way of Lyons, to take

ship at Marseilles. Claude, of course, learnt French as his mother-tongue, but at that time a native of Lorraine would be no more likely to claim for himself the title of Frenchman than a citizen of Geneva at the present day. Not long after this Louis XIII. besieged and captured Nancy, the residence of the Dukes of Lorraine. The French king was anxious to persuade Jacques Callot, the famous engraver, to return with him to Paris, but this countryman of Claude replied that, much as he appreciated the honour, his duty to his country and to his prince would not allow him to accept it. I mention this to illustrate the point of view of a Lorrainer in the seventeenth century.

So too Claude, if the question had ever presented itself to him, would have doubtless held himself to be a Lorrainer in the first place, in any case not a Frenchman in the sense that his friend the Norman Poussin was a Frenchman. In Sandrart we find him associated with the Flemish and Dutch painters at Rome, while Félibien, the official historian of French art in the seventeenth century, practically ignores the existence of Claude. We cannot here discuss the relations of the duchy of Lorraine with the empire on the one hand, and with the kingdom of France on the other. What it is important for us to bear in mind is that the commercial and social relations of the land were with the North and the South, with the Low Countries and with Italy, rather than with either France or Germany.



THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT
Dresden

Chamagne¹ is a village that lies among rich meadows, diversified by groups of trees, through which the Moselle takes a winding course. The house in which Claude Gellée was born is still shown, and local patriotism has distinguished it by a mural tablet. Claude wandered off to Italy when he was still a boy, but early impressions may have left a mark on his dreamy, sensitive nature. In those early days he was often, no doubt, a truant from school, and that habit of mooning about from morn till evening, that Sandrart at a later date ascribes to him, absorbing the changing aspects of the landscape, may have been formed in a measure even in those boyish days. Hard and bitter times had intervened, during which sordid surroundings and uncongenial companionship may have allowed little occasion for such communings with nature. Once he was again his own master, his thoughts may well have harked back to these wanderings among the groves and meadows by the Moselle.

M. Michel, in his study of Claude (*Révue des Deux Mondes*, January, 1884), will have it that in not a few of the most famous canvases of the artist may be found reminiscences of his early home. "Ces eaux qui se partageant en plusieurs bras, apparaissent en divers plans, tantôt rapides

¹ Close to Charmes, near the northern boundary of the present department of the Vosges. The parish formed part of the diocese of Toul, which, together with Metz and Verdun, had been annexed to France in 1552. Claude would on this ground have had a slightly better claim to the title of Frenchman than, say, an inhabitant of Nancy.

dans leurs cours, tantôt étalées en nappes dormantes, cette végétation variée qui se presse sur leurs bords, ces côtes aux contours mollement onduleux, ces horizons qui s'étendent au loin vers la vallée"—all these aspects of nature, says the writer, had fixed themselves on his boyish mind. M. Michel even thinks that Claude may himself in these early days, by the banks of the Moselle, have played the part of the piping neat-herd that we see in the foreground of so many of his pictures. But we must give a note of warning here. No doubt in some of his earlier works, those of the *Fête Villageoise* time, for instance, in one or two of the etchings above all, there is a certain indefinable northern aspect in the grouping of the trees and the fresh, juicy vegetation. Claude, however, at that time, was still under the influence of the Flemish school of landscape painters. It was this school that in the early years of the seventeenth century gave the prevailing note in the treatment of landscape. Out of the stately masses of the southern foliage, combined with the graceful outlines of the Roman Campagna and the Sabine hills, Claude had not yet built up what we know as the typical Claudesque landscape.

CHAPTER II

AGOSTINO TASSI

Claude's early life in Rome—Agostino Tassi.

WE may take it that Claude arrived in Rome about the year 1613. An ignorant and uncouth lad, he was dependent for his daily bread upon the doles of his friends "of the Lorraine nation." As an old man he was fond of telling stories of his sufferings during these early days. For twelve long years did his apprenticeship of want endure. According to Baldinucci, he received at first small remittances from his home, just enough to keep the wolf from the door; but all hope of future supplies was stopped "by the cruel war of the Swedes in those distant parts."¹ Such being the case, he determined to take himself, with the little money left to him, to the city of Naples, where at that time was spread abroad the fame of the much-praised pencil of Goffredo, "*pittore di paesi, lontananzi e prospettivi*." This Goffredo has been identified with one Godfried Waels, or Wals, a German artist, who painted little landscapes in the manner of Elsheimer and

¹ Baldinucci, as usual, is wild in his chronology. The Swedes only appeared in Germany in 1630.

Rottenhammer.¹ After two years' work in Goffredo's studio, during which he made some progress in architecture and perspective, Claude, on his return to Rome, had the good fortune to fall in with that distinguished pupil of Paul Brill, Agostino Tassi, famed for his paintings of landscapes, architecture, and small figures. With him he remained until his twenty-fifth year.

So far Baldinucci. Now to return to Sandrart's account. Claude, as we have seen, meeting on his arrival at Rome with little success in the pastry-cook line, took refuge in the house of the "gouty but cheerful" Tassi. Here he at first found employment in quite menial capacities. "With great goodwill he looked after the cooking and the house generally, made everything tidy, ground his master's colours in the mill, cleaned palette and brushes."²

Tassi, says Sandrart, found much work in decorating the rooms of the cardinals (at the time of the Papal conclaves, in 1621 and 1623, I suppose) with architectural designs, friezes, and so forth, painted on the walls above the tapestries. He painted also "perspective views" and other work. To execute such commissions he had often

¹ This Neapolitan interlude is obscure. Nothing is said of it by Sandrart, while the late writer, D'Argenville, places it in the midst of Claude's apprenticeship with Tassi. We may be, perhaps, justified in transferring it to the time when Claude finally left Tassi's studio. See cap. iii.

² Sandrart, in the later Latin edition, adds "*quod præter Bonam rem suam quo nomine compellace solebat pallacem suam domi suæ alias neminem sustentaret.*" We may compare this with what Passeri says of Tassi's household. See below.

to ride far out into the Campagna and to put up at very out-of-the-way places. Sandrart, in a somewhat obscure passage, goes on to speak of the long years of apprenticeship of Claude with Tassi, of his application to both the theory and the practice of perspective, and of the slow progress that he made in developing any individual style of his own.

Of one thing we can be certain in the early life of Claude—it was from Tassi that he learnt to paint. He entered his house as a poor, ignorant peasant lad, and when, nine or ten years later, he left him to set out on his *wanderjahr*, he was already an artist of some repute. It is not beside the mark, then, to endeavour to find out what manner of man this Tassi was, and what was his position as a painter.

Now we have every reason to believe that this “*degnissimo discepolo*” of Brill, this “gouty but genial” painter, was, if not altogether a man of abandoned character, yet undoubtedly a typical member of the Bohemian artist-world in Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth century—a man of “cape and sword,” vain, noisy and a braggart. So he is painted for us by Passeri,¹ and this view

¹ Passeri's work treats of the artists who died in Rome between the years 1641 and 1673. Claude lived too long to find a place in his book. The work was not printed till 1722, many years after the author's death. It is a most valuable source of information for the contemporaries of Claude at Rome. Passeri, who writes with great zest and confesses to the difficulty he finds in keeping his work free from gossip and scandal, was himself an artist of some repute.

of his character is confirmed by Salvator Rosa in his *Sattira della Pittura*. Still more definite evidence may be found in the criminal archives of Florence and Rome.

Tassi, says Passeri, after a stormy youth passed in Rome and Florence, was, in consequence of an escapade of more than usual seriousness, condemned to the galleys by the Grand Duke. Not "*al servizio del remo*," indeed, but to the milder "*relegazione*." Making himself agreeable to the captain of the galleys by his quick wit and humour, he was enabled to find time to study and draw the various vessels, the ports, embarkations, storms, and fishing scenes, that were constantly before his eyes. It was thus possible for him to become a master of this branch of art. At Livorno, after his release, he obtained employment in painting similar scenes on the façades of houses. In the Turks, Persians, and Levantines frequenting the port he found picturesque models for his brush. Later on, at Rome, in the days of Paul V. (1605-21) he painted the façades and the interiors of many palaces in the city. Here, too, he introduced his marine scenes with scattered groups of figures, a palm high, full of spirit and character. Tassi was now able to ride about on horseback with a sword by his side and a golden chain on his breast. We are next told of a violent quarrel with his friend, Orazio Gentileschi; he was indeed accused of seducing his daughter Artemisia, the gifted artist, well known in later days at the court of our Charles I. However, after suffering

with great endurance the torture of the cord, Tassi was released for want of evidence. Among other important commissions for decorating the palaces of popes and cardinals, in which he was associated with Domenichino, Lanfranco, Guercino, Gentileschi, and others, we hear of him being summoned to Bagnaia, the official summer residence of the "Signori Cardinali Camerlinghi." This spot, not far from Viterbo, now well known as the Villa Lante,¹ was already famous for its gardens and fountains. The occupier of the grounds at that time was the Cardinal Montalto; to Giuseppino (the Cav. D'Arpino) was entrusted the decoration of a recently erected casino, and in company with him worked Agostino Tassi.

Now I dwell upon this point in the life of Tassi, inasmuch as Passeri's account receives an interesting confirmation in a passage from a legal report that has been unearthed from the criminal archives of Rome. It is a document of exceptional interest to us, containing as it does the earliest contemporary mention of the name of Claude. Tassi had evidently got into trouble again. This time it is an action brought against him by the Roman Curia, probably in the year 1619. In his evidence he is recorded to have said: "I remember to have stated in a former examination that I had been working at Bagnaia, where I was engaged for two years and a half in painting in the

¹ The estate was granted by Urban VIII. to Cardinal Lante in compensation for the destruction of the Vigna Lante, during the building of the new walls of Rome at the back of the Trastevere.

'*Barcho*' for the Cardinal Montalto, and I had there as my assistants and workmen a band of Frenchmen. Among them were Carlo Borgognone, *Claudio di Lorrena*, Bartholomeo Fiammengho, and a certain Martio Gomassin. All these men were with the Signor Cardinale, none of them in my pay, but I was the head and had care of all."¹

This does not indeed amount to much, but the short, dry statement is an invaluable *point de repère* amid the vague rumours and contradictory assertions that surround the early career of Claude.

Tassi by his vain and boastful nature had made many enemies. One evening, as he was riding by the Palazzo Borghese ("per quella strada delle Colonne con le catene"—the place may still be recognised, I think), he was dragged from his horse and left for dead in the road. He was, however, little hurt, and straightway remounting, pursued his aggressors, to their great alarm. Passeri finally charges him with keeping what was little better than a house of ill fame. Here his assistants led a riotous life, but on the other hand received little or no pay.² Tassi's house was close by the Porta del Popolo—"giunta alla

¹ I translate from the Italian text, to be found in the Appendix of Lady Dilke's *Life*.

² "Era molto pericoloso la pratica di lui," says Passeri, "mediante l'occasione di quelle sue femmine, le quali stando nella sua casa por tenere invischiata la gioventù ne' loro allettamenti, faceva que quelle li tenessero allaciati con lusinghe al servizio di lui senza chiedere alcuna mercede."

mossa delli barberi," close to the starting-place of the Barbary horses (in the Carnival races)—and here Tassi died in the year 1644, at the age of seventy-six. Not far off, as we shall see, was the house in which Claude passed the greater part of his long life.

We have had a glance at Claude working as Tassi's assistant—decorating the ceilings and the walls of the new villa in the gardens at Bagnaia. There was a great demand for such work at this time, much of it merely architectural decoration, where the eye is deceived by the skilful application of perspective. In such designs Tassi excelled, but we must not forget that as a pupil of Paul Brill he painted also pure landscape. Still more important for us are the port scenes, with shipping and busy crowds landing and embarking amid galley slaves, Turks, and Levantines. We have seen how in early life Tassi had worked amid such surroundings. We shall find among the earliest pictures of Claude representations of very similar scenes.

Although we need not take all the scandalous stories that have come down to us regarding Tassi's manner of life exactly *au pied de la lettre*, yet what we know of the stormy lives of other painters—of Caravaggio, for instance, or of Domenichino—is enough to prove that at this time it was no tame existence that was led in artistic circles in Rome. The native artists were divided into numerous cliques, their bitter jealousies led to frequent assassinations, or by threats of assassination an obnoxious painter

or architect was driven out to seek safer quarters. So much was this the case that the foreign artists who were now flocking to Rome in ever-increasing numbers found it best to live much by themselves. Partly by their example (by that of such men as Poussin and Sandrart, for instance), and partly as a consequence of the better policing of the city by the contemporary popes, a great change had come over the ways of the art world before the middle of the century. [Under the influence of the courtly spirit of the seventeenth century and of the learned academies lately founded, the city was gradually settling down into that pleasant, but artistically unprofitable, cosmopolitan centre, the Rome of the eighteenth century.]

CHAPTER III

THE WANDERJAHR

Claude at Naples—The influence of Elsheimer—The *wanderjahr*—Claude at Nancy—The return to Rome.

MUCH as Claude must have learnt during the years that he served as an assistant of Tassi, he could scarcely have had much opportunity at this time for the development of his talent as a painter of oil pictures on canvas. No doubt during his journeys across the Campagna, in company with his master, and in the intervals of his work at the villas of the Roman princes, at Tivoli or on the Alban Hills, he was, as Sandrart expresses it, alert to seize every opportunity to become intimate with nature—he was already beginning to store up in his mind the aspects of the landscape as influenced by the morning and evening sun.

Baldinucci would have it that on leaving Tassi's service he proceeded at once on his wanderings, but I think that, if at any time, this is the interval in which we may place his visit to Naples and to the studio of Goffredo. If we are to identify this Goffredo with Gottfried Wals, the later date would fit in better. On the death of the Borghese Pope, Paul V., in 1621, Tassi lost a powerful

patron who had protected him from the consequences of some of his escapades. He fell into disgrace and his band of disciples was broken up. Now Wals, who came from the Rhineland, was, unlike Tassi, no decorator of large wall surfaces with frescoes. Claude here found a careful painter of highly finished landscapes on panel or canvas, working somewhat in the manner of Elsheimer. The latter artist had died at Rome in great poverty just before this time (in 1620 probably). The merits of his works had already been bruited about in artistic circles. In his way of life he was in every respect the opposite of Tassi; a quiet, modest man, working hard at his little pictures among a small circle of devoted friends, who were, however, unable to save him from a debtor's prison.

It has long been recognised that we may find in Elsheimer's little works many examples of that contrast of dark masses of foliage with distant landscape perspectives that we now associate with Claude. When we remember that Elsheimer had an important influence upon the earlier landscape work of Rembrandt¹—he was indeed copied by him—we may recognise what a prominent posi-

¹ For instance, in the foliage and distance of his early "Diana and Actæon." Compare too Elsheimer's landscape with Tobias and the Angel in the National Gallery with a well-known etching by Rembrandt. Rubens also, we may note, was an eager purchaser of Elsheimer's pictures. For a learned discussion of the German artist's life and works see Bode, *Studien zur Geschichte des Holländischen Malerei*, 1883.



"TOBIAS AND THE ANGEL"

By Elsheimer. National Gallery

tion this gifted but short-lived artist had in the history of landscape art.

It is not then too wild an hypothesis to assume that being thrown adrift by the temporary closing of Tassi's studio, Claude's thoughts, about the year 1622 or 1623, turned to an artist with whose style of painting and with whose way of life he must have been in sympathy. But Elsheimer he would hear was already dead, dead in a debtor's prison. A distinguished countryman, however, a pupil of his, was established as an artist of repute in Naples. Thus we may with safety assume that if Claude ever worked in the studio of Wals, it was after and not before his long apprenticeship with Tassi.¹

All that Sandrart has to tell us about Claude's life at this time is that "he learnt so much in Tassi's studio in a few years that he set up by himself, and painted landscapes and buildings. As these were but poor works he obtained but little for them, and was forced to live sparingly." There is not a word here about Gottfried Wals, or indeed about the one and only journey of Claude, his "*wanderjahr*," to which we must now turn.

For an account of this journey we have once more to be dependent upon Baldinucci. It was in the month of April, 1625, that Claude—"Il Lorenese" he calls him—took the road for the Santa Casa of Loreto. It is not unlikely, I think, that

¹ As we have already mentioned, D'Argenville, a later writer, places the work in Wals's studio as an interlude in the midst of Claude's residence with Tassi.

this first stage of his journey may have been in the nature of a pilgrimage. Claude, it would seem, without being exactly a *dévot* by nature, was all through life a good Catholic and a respecter of the ways of the Roman Church. We shall see evidence of this in his will and in his close relations to the great dignitaries of the Papal Court. Sandrart says of him: "Claude was no great courtier, warm-hearted, however, and *pious*, and he sought for no other pleasures than in his work." Of Tassi, on the other hand, we are told by Passeri that he was a man who had "*poco timor di Dio ed in cui non regnava divozione d' alcuna sorte.*" I think, then, that it is not improbable that an instinctive revulsion from what he had to witness and in a measure to accommodate himself to while with Tassi and his wild companions, had no little influence on Claude's life at this time and later.

From Loreto Claude passed to Venice. There is no evidence that he stayed any time here. It is indeed remarkable how little Claude was at any time directly influenced by the Venetians. The "swing," if the expression may be allowed, and the rich tints of the Titianesque landscape found little echo in his reposeful quiet-toned renderings of nature.

Crossing the Alps, Claude passed on through Bavaria. Now at that time there was at Munich, in the employ of the Duke, a cook of the name of Claudius Gilet, probably a Lorrainer, and perhaps a relative of our artist, and it is not impossible that the two Claudes may have met. The

presence of this *chef*, a man no doubt in his day of more distinction than our wandering painter, has given rise to a series of fables concerning our Claude the artist and his work at Munich that have only lately been exploded. Suffice to say that there is absolutely no evidence that Claude made any stay in the neighbourhood of Munich—most certainly he did not there paint any of the pictures now in the Pinakothek—these are works of a much later period. Still less plausible is the statement that Claude decorated, nay, was the owner of, a villa at Harlaching, not far from the Bavarian capital. Yet an apocryphal story to this intent long found credit in Germany, and it was even given official sanction by an inscription put up by the art-loving King Louis.

This by the way. To return to Baldinucci's narrative; Claude, he says, proceeded through Bavaria and at length arrived in his own country. "After he had given some care to his own affairs he passed on to Nancy. There was at the time in that city a relation of his, who welcomed him kindly and introduced him to a certain Carlo Dervent, a Lorrainer by birth and court painter to the Duke."

This passing notice of a visit to his family is the only record we have of Claude having ever returned to the house that he left as a boy.

Nancy was at that time an art centre of some importance. It had taken in a manner the position held by Dijon under the Dukes of Burgundy at an earlier period. Charles III., who was destined to pass a long life warring first against

Richelieu and Louis XIII. and later against Louis XIV., had just succeeded to the dukedom.¹ A few years after this his capital was taken by the French, and he was for a time driven into exile. Of the active band of artists then busy in the service of the Duke and of his family, only one name is now familiar—Jacques Callot, the famous engraver. He, like Claude, whose senior he was by eight years, had wandered off to Italy when only twelve years old. After many busy years spent in the service of the Grand Duke at Florence, he had lately returned to his native town, and was yearly adding to the number of those marvellous plates in which the manners and the life of the times are depicted with so much spirit. There is no record that Callot and Claude ever met, but we can recognise in some of the earlier drawings and etchings of the latter artist unmistakable traces of the style and even of the mannerisms of his famous countryman.

But more influential at the court than Callot was Claude Deruet² (the Dervent of Baldinucci), a native artist who had returned a few years before from Rome. Of Deruet's grand way of life, of his retinue and equipage, Félibien gives an account that calls to mind the prosperous moments of Claude's late master at Rome.

¹ The Dukes of Lorraine, it must not be forgotten, were Princes of the Holy Roman Empire.

² Claude was a favourite Christian name in Lorraine. It had been borne by more than one member of the ducal house. At Rome the names Claude and Charles seem to be at times confounded with one another.

Shortly before this time he had been ennobled. Baldinucci calls him the Cavaliere di Portogallo.

Deruet had plenty of work on hand at this time, above all in the decoration, in the Jesuit taste, of the vaults and cupolas of the new Carmelite monastery then in course of building at Nancy. Claude came direct from the studio of a Roman master famous for this kind of work, and this fact alone must have given him no little prestige. Deruet, Baldinucci tells us, at once retained his services, and promised to give him employment in figure painting. It was in this line that Claude's ambition lay at this time, it would seem. But before the expiration of a year Claude received orders to devote himself to the architectural part in the decoration of the vaulting of the monastery church—that is to say, to an imitation on a flat or curved surface of cornices, balustrades, and coffered ceilings with heavy mouldings. No doubt in this department he had under Tassi attained to a greater degree of efficiency than in the drawing of the human figure. But this arrangement did not suit Claude. He had now higher aims, and the climax came when he was the witness of an accident—a fall from the scaffold by which a fellow-artist at work by his side nearly lost his life. Claude threw up his engagement. He was ever afterwards very unwilling to undertake any work that involved mounting upon scaffolding.

Like all or nearly all the early work of Claude, these frescoes in the Carmelite church at Nancy have vanished—the church was destroyed at the

time of the Revolution. Nothing has survived that can be referred to these two years that Claude spent in his native land, unless it be one or two drawings, early in style, in which the northern character of the landscape and of the buildings can hardly be reconciled with the neighbourhood of Rome. To the same period belong doubtless some rapid pen drawings of ports—Marseilles and Cività Vecchia—formerly in the Roupell collection. In these a certain mannerism, in the pen strokes above all, that we do not find in the later drawings of Claude, give unmistakable evidence of the influence of Callot.

Claude, then—we still follow Baldinucci—having lost all enthusiasm for the work in which he was engaged at Nancy, resolved to return to Italy. He journeyed by way of Lyons and Marseilles. It was in this last town, so Baldinucci tells us, while waiting for a passage to Cività Vecchia, that he fell in with Charles Errard, who, accompanied by his father and brother, "*pittori della maestà Christianissima*," was on his way to Rome. It was this Charles Errard who at a considerably later date became the first director of the French Academy at Rome. From Baldinucci we hear nothing further about this return journey, but later writers have woven in at this point quite a number of incidents and adventures. This was indeed their last opportunity for finding room for such stirring events in Claude's career, after this time so uniformly peaceful. Claude, according to the later tradition, fell ill at Marseilles, and he was plundered of all his savings.



THE TEMPEST
Drawing, British Museum. (Vaughan Bequest)



THE TEMPEST
Etching by Claude

Some of these authorities had found place for a similar adventure on his outward journey—the correspondence is alone suspicious. At the critical moment a wealthy merchant turns up for whom Claude paints two pictures, and with the money thus obtained takes passage for Cività Vecchia.

This was Claude's first and last sea journey. The season was already late, and we are told that it was only after enduring a succession of storms and narrowly escaping shipwreck that he and his French companions at length arrived in port.

In this connection it may perhaps be worthy of notice that in the earliest of Claude's etchings, and in the perhaps still earlier drawing of the same subject (ex Vaughan collection, now in the British Museum), which must have been executed soon after Claude's return to Rome, we have a spirited representation of some feluccas running into harbour amid storm-swept rocks.

Finally, it is upon the authority of Baldinucci that we can state that Claude arrived in Rome on the very day of the festival of St. Luke, the patron of painters, October 18th, 1627.

CHAPTER IV

JOACHIM SANDRART

Claude paints frescoes in Roman palaces—Joachim Sandrart—
His influence on Claude—Claude's friendship with Poussin
and Bamboccio.

WHATEVER of narrative interest, of struggles with poverty, of adventures of travel by land or by sea is to be found in Claude's career, comes to an end with his arrival at Rome in the late autumn of the year 1627.

And yet so far, with the possible exception of a few slight sketches, we can point to no single surviving example of his work. Nor probably for several years to come did Claude Gellée paint what we would now recognise as "Claudes." Baldinucci, indeed, asserts that he had at this time to return, much against the grain, to the old uncongenial work upon a scaffold, not indeed on a dizzy height, under the cupola of a church; for he had now offers of works that he was not in a position to refuse in the palaces of some of the greatest Roman families. Once more he had to "*stare sopra palchi*," and lay on the colour in *buon fresco* upon the freshly prepared wall surface. No niggling or glazing in such work. He was soon busy in the palace of Cardinal Crescenzo,

near the Pantheon, and again in a house belonging to the Muti family, close by the Trinità de' Monti.

Still more important was the scheme of decoration that he carried through in the great *salone* of the palace, then belonging to another member of the Muti family, in the Piazza of the SS. Apostoli. Sandrart speaks with enthusiasm of this last work, which was probably executed about the time of the latter artist's arrival in Rome (1629). He states distinctly that this decoration was executed in fresco. Other paintings of this class were at this time certainly carried out in some kind of distemper, as in the case of many of the surviving works of Gaspar Poussin. Sandrart describes in some detail the landscapes that Claude painted on the four lofty walls of this *salone*. We are told of the life-sized trees, nobly disposed in groups, each kind distinguished by its characteristic foliage, through which the rustling wind found its way; around their trunks cluster bushes and smaller plants. The work was so skilfully planned that the various planes, up to the mountains on the distant horizon, so well corresponded that the landscape on one side of the hall passed into that on another. On one wall he painted a seaport with shipping of every kind; beyond, in the stormy open sea, other vessels are driven before the wind—perhaps another reminiscence of his recent voyage. In later years Claude rarely attempted the representation of scenes of storm and wind either by land or sea. His temperament favoured rather a “static” rendering of nature.

We cannot, indeed, make much of the rather turgid description that Sandrart gives of these early wall paintings of Claude. Perhaps some of the still-surviving frescoes that Paul Brill had carried out a few years before in the rooms and galleries of the Vatican may give a better idea of their style and execution than can be gleaned from the much repainted wrecks in the Palazzo Muti-Papazurri that have been doubtfully identified as the work of Claude. This palace—at one time the home of the Young Pretender—has suffered many changes, and has now passed into other hands. One can, indeed, scarcely allow that what now remains on the walls is to be reckoned as an exception to the hard fate that has robbed us of all the early work of Claude.

We now come to a few years of Claude's life during which the man is brought before us in a clearer light than at any other time before or afterwards. These are the six years, from 1629 to 1635, that the German artist Sandrart passed in Rome; these are, too, the years during which Claude developed the style of landscape that has ever since been associated with his name. It was not probably until he had passed his thirtieth year—perhaps not till somewhat later—that Claude, to put the matter shortly, began to paint "Claudes." Sandrart, indeed, hints that the correspondence in date between his arrival in Rome and the development of Claude's style was no accidental coincidence. He dwells more than once upon the value of the practical advice that he gave to Claude. It is, perhaps, rather to his influence

upon Claude's character and way of life that we should be inclined to attach importance. The courtly young German—he was only twenty-three at the time of his arrival in Rome—as we have already said, brought Claude out of his shell and lent him self-assurance to mix on equal terms in the best artistic society in Rome, above all, in that of the Flemish and Dutch artists who were now flocking to the city.

Joachim Sandrart was born in Frankfort in the year 1606.¹ His parents were of Flemish origin from the Hennegau; they had sought refuge in Germany from religious persecution. After learning the engraver's art at Nuremberg and under Sadler at Prague, his father placed him in the studio of Gerhart van Honthorst at Utrecht. When the latter artist betook himself to the English court the young Sandrart accompanied him and “assisted him in the many beautiful works that he executed for the King.” Sandrart found great favour with Charles, and remained behind when Honthorst returned to Holland.²

“So well,” say Sandrart's biographers, “did the greedy bee of art avail himself of the stores of nectar to be found in the galleries of the King's palace, that he was able to get a thorough

¹ His life, written in somewhat fulsome terms of praise “by his kindred and disciples,” but, no doubt, practically by himself, may be found in the *Teutsche Academie* at the end of the Biographies of Artists.

² From other sources we learn that Honthorst and probably Sandrart also gave lessons in drawing to the children of the Princess Elizabeth. We have here an interesting link with Prince Rupert.

grounding in painting, and made so much progress that Charles was unwilling to part with him." But the assassination of Buckingham, a liberal patron of art, in 1627, seems to have caused a panic among the foreign artists employed in the court, and Sandrart at once set out for "fresh woods and pastures new." He had, however, already filled his notebooks with memoranda concerning the art treasures that he had seen in England,¹ and from these his biographers give copious extracts. We hear incidentally that the finest of these works were then (in 1675) in the Imperial Gallery lately brought together by Frederick III. at Prague.

So Sandrart journeyed through Germany to Venice, and then by way of Bologna and Florence to Rome, as busy with his notebook in all the galleries and churches as any modern art critic. One little adventure he had at Pratolino just before reaching Florence. I mention it as the scene calls to mind an early picture of Claude, where a cavalier breaks off from a hunting party to join a village dance; perhaps Sandrart had related the incident to Claude. It was a fête day, and the town-people, with their women-folk and children, had come out to dance in the meadows. Sandrart had dismounted to watch the merry party, and he was invited by one of the most comely of

¹ Sandrart copied several pictures for Charles I. The English, we are told, are such enthusiastic collectors that they send agents to the remotest countries to buy pictures or sculpture for them. So friendly are they that they never hesitate to show their houses to all lovers of art.

the girls to join the circle. But the event was nearly as fatal to him, he says, "as was Herodias' dance to John the Baptist." A quarrel arose over an imagined insult to his partner (the result of the contact of spurs and *fliegende röcke*), and Sandrart had to stand at bay with his pistol to protect himself from the daggers of the infuriated brothers. The matter was, however, explained, the spurs were removed, and the incident ended with a general health-drinking.

Sandrart, on his arrival in Rome (it was in the summer of the year 1629, or possibly earlier), gave an elaborate entertainment to the artistic circle that he joined in the city. Something of the sort was evidently regarded as obligatory in the case of a new-comer. To this "*Willkoms-Mahlzeit auf Niederländische Manier*," as he calls it, forty of the most distinguished painters and sculptors in Rome were invited. We are incidentally informed that he conversed with the guests in Italian and in French, in German and in Dutch, for Sandrart was a great linguist (he even spoke a little English) and was very proud of this proficiency in foreign tongues. In return, some of his guests had prepared a "*Parnasso*," an allegorical scene where Apollo appears with his Muses and bids them welcome the new-comers. The *intermezzo* ended with a display of fireworks amid cries of "*Viva! Viva! Sandrart e Le Blon!*"¹ and the two heroes

¹ Michel le Blon, Sandrart's cousin, with whom he made the journey to Rome, was a goldsmith and engraver of repute. In later days he had some success as an intermediary in the export of pictures from Italy.

were led crowned with laurels to the tables where the feast was spread.

Sandrart's immediate successes in the art world are sung in no modest terms by his courtly biographers. We are told of a procession through the streets on a saint's day, when pictures by him and by others of the most renowned painters of the day (destined for the gallery of the King of Spain), were carried in triumph through the crowd.¹

"Our Herr von Sandrart," his biographers are careful to note, "was not of so wild a spirit as many of his contemporaries. He was careful that in his pictures there should never appear any departure from what is seemly. His works, indeed, were found too modest by some, although they had to confess that they combined a natural treatment with the antique style. Nay! a picture of his, bought for 225 crowns by a Dutch dealer, found its way into the chapel of Cardinal Richelieu together with works by Nicholas Poussin and by the sculptor Du Quesnoy. These artists were invited by that great minister to visit France. Only Poussin, however, was induced to leave Rome, and that only for a time."

After hearing much of commissions from princes and cardinals—even one to paint the reigning

¹ Sandrart's picture on this occasion was the "Death of Seneca." Among the other artists represented were Guido, Domenichino, Guercino, and Poussin, but there is no mention of Claude. Velasquez was at this time (1629) in Rome, stopping in the Villa Medici. Cean Bermudez asserts that it was he who commissioned these pictures, twelve in number, for the Royal Gallery. See below, cap. vi.

Pope, Urban VIII.—and of his “affable and courtly bearing” that endeared him to his friends and disarmed his enemies, we come at last to Sandrart’s relation to the subject of this biography. “Among his best and trusted friends there was, too, Claudius Gilli, a Lorrainer, a landscape painter, who not long since had become prominent. With him Sandrart made many excursions to Tivoli. There, and in the gardens of Prince Giustiniani, they together *painted* from nature, instead of merely *drawing*, trees, landscapes, and waterfalls.”¹ By perseverance in this practice the two friends attained to such experience that they were able to follow most accurately in the footsteps of nature.

We have now formed some idea of what sort of man this Sandrart was, and what was his position in Rome. Let us then turn to another part of his *Teutsche Academie* and see what he has to say of Claude in his biography of the artist.

Claude, we must remember, before the time of Sandrart’s arrival in Rome (in the summer of 1629) had been finding employment in the decoration of certain palaces in the city, for the Muti, Crescenzi, and other noble families. But such work he doubtless regarded as a mere *gagne-pain*—his ambition lay elsewhere. Perhaps now, for the first time in his life, he had liberty and leisure to devote himself to close study in the fields—to enter into a more intimate communion with nature. It was at this “psychological moment,” then,

¹ Sandrart, or his biographers, here distinctly asserts that Claude painted (in oil presumably) from nature. Cf. p. 112.

that Claude first came into contact with his biographer. Sandrart, in an often quoted passage, tells us that this meeting was "at Tivoli, among the wild rocks, by the famous waterfall." Claude at this time, he says, seized every opportunity to lie in wait for nature, "long before day and far into the night he watched her in the open Campagna." Thus he learnt to reproduce with absolute truth "the first glow of morning—the rising and the setting of the sun."

Sandrart then goes on to tell in detail of Claude's manner of work at this time: how he mixed his colours on the spot, then hastened home to fix them on the canvas. This we must regard, I think, as indicating Claude's manner of work at the time when he first encountered his German friend. The actual painting from nature in the Giustiniani gardens was the result of Sandrart's influence, so at least the latter would have us believe.

But these technical questions must be left to a future chapter; for the present I will confine myself to the little we know of the details of Claude's life, gathering together such scanty notices as we have of his surroundings at this time.

Everything points to these years being the happiest of Claude's career. Steadily growing success in his art, the enjoyment of good health, and the company of congenial friends—all this was very different from the life he had been leading when toiling as a drudge among loose-living companions in the studio of Tassi. It is almost

pathetic to hear the somewhat pedantic Sandrart, that big-wigged incarnation of the seventeenth-century German, recalling in terms that at times have quite a poetical ring the memory of these happy days.

Sandrart's principal work while living in Rome was for the aged Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, at that time one of the greatest patrons of art in the city. The Marquis was above all a collector of antique sculpture, and we may compare his position to that of the Cardinal Albani in the following century, and Sandrart was his Winckelmann. At least he found employment in making drawings of many hundred antique statues for a work on the Galleria Giustiniana that this great nobleman was bringing out. A few of the statues still remain in the Palazzo Giustiniani, near the Piazza Navona, others have passed to Berlin; the bulk of them, however, have found their way to the Vatican and Torlonia galleries.

But it is with the Villa, or, as it was then often called, the Vigna Giustiniani,¹ close by the Piazza del Popolo, that we are more closely concerned. At this time this villa was one of the show places of Rome. Every tourist that came to the city was anxious to visit the stately groves, interspersed with fragments of ancient art and the pleasant fountains. It was on a footing with

¹ The sumptuous Roman villas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we must remember, grew out of the little garden houses erected in the vineyards that then, and indeed until quite recently, filled so much of the space within the walls of Rome.

the Mattei gardens and the Albani villa of later days. Evelyn, who visited Rome a few years later (in 1644), says, "Turning to the left under the Porta del Popolo we came to Justinian's gardens, near the Muro Torta." Under this wall, he continues, is the burial-place of the women of the town, who are put into the earth "*sans cérémonie*." This is a collocation of princely gardens and outcasts' graves, very characteristic of the Rome of the seventeenth century, and of later times too.

It was, perhaps, in some casino in the grounds of this villa on the slope of the Pincian Hill, rather than in the Giustiniani Palace itself, that Sandrart had his studio during the greater part of his sojourn in Rome, and Claude Gellée now came to keep him company. Here, between masses of dark ilex, there were glimpses of the broad Campagna and the winding river. It was, indeed, an ideal abode for a landscape painter.

In any general view of the production of the artists working in Rome in the seventeenth century, what is common to all the various schools and cliques is the great attention given to the accurate drawing of the human figure. To provide every opportunity for practice in such work the painters and sculptors would club together to provide suitable models. This was the primary object of the academies of which we hear so much in the contemporary biographies of artists. Thus were formed groups and cliques of workers, not necessarily all of the same nation, which took the names of the painters in whose studios they

assembled. They met together also to draw from the antique, both in the open air and in the palaces of the art-loving princes; but the members of these loosely organised art clubs are not to be regarded as pupils of the artist who arranged the meetings. Claude was only too conscious of his deficiencies as a draughtsman of the human figure, and we find him at this time drawing from life in the studio of Andrea Sacchi, in company with Sandrart, Du Quesnoy, Poussin, Pietro da Cortona, and others. Thence they would pass to the Palazzo Giustiniani, to draw from the famous marbles there collected. They would meet, too, in the Forum or on the Via Appia to discuss the remains of antiquity, or to make careful studies of columns and friezes of Roman temples and tombs.

In early days Claude would trudge out on foot far into the Campagna. Starting before the sun was up, he would bring back hasty memoranda in black chalk or in indian ink of the effects that had struck him. He could now, however, afford to form one of the merry parties of artists who clubbed together to hire a coach. Of one such occasion, by a miracle, a record has come down to us. The party consisted of Nicholas Poussin, Pieter de Laer, Claude, and, finally, of Sandrart, who tells the story (*Teutsche Academie*, Life of Pieter de Laer). Here we have in intimate companionship a Frenchman from Normandy, a Low-Countryman from Haarlem, a Lorrainer, and a German.

This is the first time in our story that we come

across the great French painter. We have every reason to believe that Claude and Poussin, in spite of the great difference of their characters and aims, were intimate friends¹—they were certainly, as we shall see, close neighbours during the greater part of their lives. And yet it is singular how little we hear of Poussin in the contemporary notices of the life of Claude—the great figure is, however, constantly looming in the distance. On the other hand, in the biographies of Poussin not a single word is said of the famous landscape painter of Lorraine, who was receiving commissions from all the princes of Europe. Neither man, especially in their later years, cared much for general society, nor would the learned and somewhat severe Frenchman find much subject for conversation in the company of our simple-minded and ignorant Claude. The two, indeed, had this in common—they were both thoroughly wrapped up in their work.

On this occasion—the excursion to Tivoli—Pieter de Laer was perhaps the connecting link. This Haarlem painter plays not an unimportant part in the art history of the time. “Pieter,” says Sandrart, “had an extraordinary figure, seeing that the length of his legs was out of all

¹ Sandrart says of Poussin: “In his first period (at Rome) he was intimate with us strangers and often came to us when he knew that Du Quesnoy and Claude Lorraine were with us, as it was our custom to communicate our opinions to one another.” *Teutsche Academie*, part iii. cap. xxvi.

proportion to the rest of his body, besides, he had no neck at all, so that his head seemed to rest upon his lower extremities." The Romans called him Bamboccio, not a very polite term, which we may perhaps translate as Scarecrow. De Laer was a good fellow, however, trusty, and the best of company. Sandrart curiously enough hints that he was overmuch given to deep thinking—was an introspective philosopher in fact—but would chase away such thoughts with his violin, for he was at the same time an accomplished musician. We know, at any rate, that he found favour with the austere Poussin. As for his artistic position, we must remember that it was Bamboccio—the name has stuck to him—who was above all the leader among the artists then in Rome of the new school of painting that sought its subjects in scenes of everyday life. The Italian writers of the time always allude to these "*bambocciate*," as such works got to be called—roadside and farmyard scenes above all—in a somewhat condescending, if not condemnatory, tone. But De Laer found many imitators even among the native painters.

To return to our cosmopolitan party of artists. After a morning passed in sketching from nature at Tivoli, they no doubt partook together of a merry meal outside some wayside *locanda*.¹ Bamboccio may even have given them a specimen of his dancing. Sandrart praises the agility with

¹ There is in the gallery at Florence a clever rendering, in tempera, I think, of such a party, by G. di San Giovanni, which some of my readers may remember.

which he would twist his long legs over the head of his partner. At any rate, on the return journey, on the alarm of an approaching storm, Bamboccio hurried away, mounted on one of the horses. No news of him anywhere till they reached the gates of Rome! Here they learned that the men on guard had indeed seen a riderless horse, apparently from a *vettura*, gallop by; on its back was a small trunk surmounted by a hat, and two long boots were flapping by the horse's flanks. Great was the laughter when they recognised in this description their missing friend, who had slipped by the town guard unrecognised.

In turning over the drawings by Claude in the British Museum I came upon a rough sketch (it is on the back of a study of trees, Payne Knight Collection, No. 181) of a strangely built man busily drawing from nature. He sits astraddle upon the trunk of a tree and his long legs hang down on either side. Behind him there approaches stealthily a man with a gun, who places one hand on his shoulder. This is doubtless a recollection of some incident that had happened to an artist while absorbed in his work—perhaps an alarm of brigandage—and I think it not unlikely that the hero of it may be our long-legged Bamboccio.¹

About a year after his arrival in Rome, Sandrart set out upon a journey through Southern Italy, "in good company," he says. It is not impossible that Claude may have accompanied him, at least

¹ This incident, I should note, is introduced into the foreground of one of Claude's landscapes.

as far as Naples. A record of this journey is to be found in the *Itinerarium Italiæ*, by Martin Zeiler, published at Frankfort in 1640. The illustrations are chiefly by Matthew Merian, Sandrart's prolific pupil. But among them may be found a double-paged illustration of the eruption of Vesuvius. This plate is inscribed: "*Wahrhafte Contrafactur des Bergs Vesuvius und desselbigen Brandt . . . nach dem leben gezeichnet durch Joachim Sandrart, 1631.*" A drawing (very crude) of the Solfatara, as well as the elaborate title-page of the work, are also signed by the German artist. Now there is more than one drawing by Claude in the British Museum in which the smoking cone of Vesuvius is a prominent object. One especially in bistre-wash might well date from this time, at any rate it can hardly be referred to so early a date as the time when Claude was working in the studio of Godfrey Wals. I can, however, find no trace of Claude's hand in any of the illustrations to Zeiler's work.¹ At any rate, there is no shadow of evidence that Claude at any later time ever journeyed beyond the immediate neighbourhood of Rome.

In the summer of 1635, after six or seven years' residence in Rome, Sandrart set out for the North. Germany, he tells us, was then laid waste "by the three Furies, War, Famine, and Plague," and only at the risk of his life did Sandrart find his way through the lines of the Imperial forces, which, under Count Gallas, were at that time

¹ A view, indeed, of Gaeta with the Mola to the right calls to mind one of Claude's harbour scenes.

blockading Frankfort. His faithful companion, the etcher, Matthew Merian, narrowly escaped an even worse fate; he fell into the hands of some starving peasantry—they were about to butcher and devour him, when he was rescued at the last moment.

CHAPTER V

ROME

Claude's dwelling-places and sketching-grounds—The Rome of the seventeenth century.

ROME, indeed, in the second quarter of the seventeenth century was a haven of peace compared with the greater part of Western Europe. From Germany ravaged by the Thirty Years War, from England now dominated by the art-despising Puritan, from France distracted by the troubles of the Fronde, what wonder that artists and connoisseurs of art should flock to Rome?

We must bear in mind that of the long years of Claude's activity as an artist, the whole period, with one brief early interval, was spent in Rome, and that of his paintings we can scarcely point to one of which the materials were not collected in the city or in its neighbourhood. It is true that with a very few exceptions, and these belong to an early period, the pictures of Claude are artificial compositions made up of materials collected at various times and places. In this he followed the taste of the time. That a picture should be the accurate record of a definite scene

was an idea foreign to the fashion of the age. Such a rendering would have appeared as a confession of incompetence on the part of the artist. An exception, indeed, might be made in favour of a place with such heroic associations as the Forum. But, as a rule, to the mind of a seventeenth-century connoisseur an essential element in a picture was the composition. As regards the material collected by an artist for his work—his drawings and studies—the case was somewhat different. There are a considerable number of drawings by Claude—not all by any means—made directly from nature. In these the actual spot may often be identified, and to one who has some acquaintance with the Roman Campagna there is no more interesting task than such identification. But even in such drawings as these the aim is more often than not merely to reproduce some effect of light or shade, or to store up a record of some happy grouping of foliage or pleasant line of distant hill for use in a subsequent picture. Any topographical accuracy in the rendering is merely accidental.

Many of Claude's drawings are, of course, not studies from nature at all, but compositions as elaborate and artificial as the pictures that they forestall. What it is important to bear in mind is that Claude was steeped in the atmosphere of the Roman Campagna in a more complete sense of the term than any painter before or after his time. In his case there were no conflicting elements, no reminiscences of earlier studies among Yorkshire hills and dales, such as may



THE TRINITA DE' MONTI
Attributed to Claude. National Gallery

often be recognised in the foreign work of our Turner.¹

It will not, then, be out of place if we bring together a few notes concerning the aspect of the city and the surrounding country in the seventeenth century, dwelling especially upon the points where changes have occurred since Claude's day.

First as to the city itself and Claude's dwelling therein. There is every reason to believe that Claude occupied the same house during the greater part of his life. On his return from his first and only journey we are told that he lodged near the Rotonda (the Pantheon). Somewhat later, when in the company of Sandrart, we find him for a time living in the palace of the Marquis Giustiniani, near the Piazza Navona, working also in the Vigna of the same nobleman close by the Piazza del Popolo. It was in this latter neighbourhood that he had his home for the rest of his long life.

The Via Babuino is a straight well-built street which leads from the Piazza del Popolo to what is now called the Piazza di Spagna, but was then known as the Piazza della Trinità.² Now it would appear that the name Babuino—the Ape—given to the street, is in origin but a nickname, derived from a much-damaged statue of a satyr on a way-

¹ Unless, indeed, we are to follow M. Michel and find some memory of the green meadows of Lorraine in Claude's early landscapes. See above, cap. i.

² I shall be guided in what I say of the Rome of Claude's day by the excellent map of the city by J. B. Falda, dedicated to Alexander VII. (1655-67).

side fountain. There is every reason to believe that the true official name was the Via Paolina. And when we find that in the record of the census made by Alexander VII. after the plague of 1655, the names of "*Claudio Gellée, Lorenese, d'anni 55, Pittore, C.*" (i.e. *Commodo*—in easy circumstances) and of "*Nicolo Poussin, francese di 62, C.*" entered as living in the Via Paolina, Rione Campo Marzo, it is to this street that we must turn.¹

Nor can I find any evidence for the statement that either Poussin or Claude had houses by the Church of the Trinità, on the top of the hill. The "Tempietto," a little palace at the corner of the Via Felice, has indeed been claimed as the residence of Claude by a somewhat constant tradition, but the fact is in every way unlikely. One source of the confusion may be found in the fact that the name of the Piazza S. Trinità has been transferred from the square at the base of the hill (now Piazza di Spagna) to the space in front of the church.² We must remember that the Via Babuino forms and has long formed the centre of the artists' quarter in Rome.

In any case it was to a house in that street "*ante Arcum Gregorum*" that the public notary came, on the 3rd of November, 1682, to certify to the death of Claude. *Ante Arcum Gregorum*

¹ Not to the Via Paola, by the Ponte S. Angelo, as Lady Dilke (*Life*, p. 72) would have us believe, for this latter street is in the Rione Ponte.

² Of Poussin we are told by Bellori that it was his daily habit to *mount* the stairs leading to the Trinità Church to seek the shady walks on the Pincian.



VIEW FROM LA CRESCENZA

Dated 1602. Pen Sketch. British Museum

may be rendered "opposite the Arco dei Greci." This is a little bridge on the south side of the Via Babuino, connecting the church of the United Greek congregation with their seminary. Under this arch (it may be recognised in Falda's map) runs the Via dei Greci, a street well known to the international artistic fraternity of Rome.

But Claude, we learn from the terms of his will, had property "*al paese*" as well as in Rome. He had probably, somewhere in the Campagna, a small holding, some farmhouse where he could settle down in spring or autumn and work in more direct contact with nature. Where this *tenuta* or *casale* of his was situated we can only guess. Several independent trains of evidence, however, point to its being at or near to La Crescenza, a *tenuta* or farmhouse, or perhaps a small castellated building, situated about four miles to the north of the Porta del Popolo. Crossing the Tiber by the Milvian bridge and keeping to the right by the old Via Flaminia, just before reaching the well-known Sepultura dei Nasoni we cross a stream coming down from a grassy valley. This is the Fiume della Valchetta; the Tenuta della Crescenza¹ stands on the northern slope about a mile and a half from the road. Where the Val-

¹ On a large-scale map of the Agro Romano (1704) this house is marked. I find too on the same map, in a list of the "*tenute e casali*" outside the Porto del Popolo—"Crescentia, de' Signori Crescenzi." We may bear in mind Claude's early connection with Cardinal Crescenzi. At a later date too he painted a picture for the Conte Crescenzio (L.V., 88, c. 1656).

chetta stream crosses the Via Flaminia, another little valley opens to the left ; this has long been known as the Valle di Pussino, from a tradition connecting it with the great French painter—it is so marked on some modern maps. Indeed, this district is as closely connected with Poussin as with Claude, and there is some reason to believe that La Crescenza belonged at one time to the former artist.

Both these little valleys descend from the rough plateau that stretches towards the Isola Farnese and the site of ancient Veii. This is still a wild tract cut into deep gullies where the red, crumbly tufa is exposed by the side of harder beds of dark grey lava. There are in the British Museum some sketches by Claude of rocky gorges, where we see trailing creepers hanging down from loose-bedded shapeless rocks that rise from the torrent bed. Such scenes as these call to mind the diatribe of Ruskin against the "evil landscape" round Rome. Ruskin finds fault with the Roman Campagna as "exhibiting no pure and healthy nature, but a diseased and overgrown flora among half-developed volcanic rocks, loose calcareous concretions, and mouldering wrecks of building." When looking at these sketches made in the rough district between the Via Cassia and the Via Flaminia, we feel that there is an element of truth in this attack.

But such studies, excellent of their kind, are quite exceptional among Claude's work from nature. Far more abundant and more characteristic are the numerous sketches in luminous shades



THE TIBER ABOVE ROME.
Sketch in bistre wash. British Museum

of bistre. In these we see a broad, calm river winding among low hills and the rays of the afternoon sun breaking through masses of dark foliage. Where else in the immediate vicinity of Rome, if not from the slopes of the tufa hills that rise above the Flaminian road, can we look for such a landscape? It was in this neighbourhood that Claude found the *motif* for some of the most famous of his pictures—for the “*Molino*,” to give but one instance. In these compositions the graceful outline of Soracte, far to the north-west, forms the centre of the furthestmost plane to which the eye is finally led.

Everything points then to this district as the favourite sketching-ground of Claude, and here it is, if anywhere, that we should look for the property that he owned “*al paese*.” It is quite exceptional for Claude to indicate the locality on his drawings, but I have come across four sketches on which the name “*La Crescenza*” occurs. One is in the Louvre, a rocky gorge, perhaps a bit on the upper course of the Fiume della Valchetta; the others are in the British Museum.¹

Another favourite sketching-ground Claude found on the banks of the Anio or Teverone, a river that descends from the mountains of Tivoli and Subiaco and is crossed by the roads that lead northward from Rome. Of the picturesque bridges over this river, only the Ponte Nomentano

¹ Two at least of these are dated 1662, and Lady Dilke thinks that this points to a visit paid by Claude at that time to Poussin’s “suburban château.”

still retains its mediæval fortifications. The old Ponte Mammolo, on the road to Tivoli, is now a ruin, and the last remains of the fortifications on the Ponte Salaro were destroyed by the Garibaldians in 1867. There are several sketches by Claude, both in the British Museum and in private collections, of one or other of these bridges—the fortified approaches and the machicolated towers under which the road passes form picturesque masses, and beyond the little stream winds between low cliffs.¹

Of Tivoli and of the upper valley of the Anio, Claude made many sketches. The great falls and the picturesque groupings of rocks and buildings at Tivoli were at that time a comparatively new discovery for the landscape painter. Since then many generations of painters have practised their hand on what may perhaps rank as the most often painted spot in Europe. Here, too, the Villa D'Este provided the dark masses of foliage and the views over the wide-spreading plain that appealed so strongly to Claude. In company with Sandrart he pushed on to Subiaco and the Sacro Speco of St. Benedict. There is a drawing in the British Museum of bistre-wash with somewhat summary penwork; it is inscribed "Strada di Tivoli a Sobiacho, l'anno 1642." On a bank by the roadside an artist with

¹ Claude also drew the Ponte Molle, which in his time still retained part of its old fortifications. But this many-arched bridge over the wide Tiber must not, as is sometimes done, be confused with the bridges over the narrow steep-banked Anio.



ON THE ANIO (?)

Pen and sepia drawing, British Museum

big sombrero hat is sketching. He supports a large sheet of paper on his knee, but, as in some other instances where Claude introduces a painter at work, there is no sign of easel, umbrella, or other paraphernalia so essential to the modern sketcher from nature.¹

There are a few rare drawings taken apparently from the slopes of the Volscian Hills far away beyond Velletri. In the case of one in the British Museum we look down from the bare limestone slopes over the wide-stretching Pontine Marshes to the headland of Monte Circeo.²

In comparatively few cases can the scenery of the Alban Hills and the Castelli Romani be recognised. Sandrart, however, includes Frascati among the places that he visited with Claude. A drawing in the Teyler Collection at Haarlem is inscribed "*Nemi, fatto sopra il lac,*" and in some others the Alban lake and Castel Gandolfo may perhaps be recognised.

A position of far greater importance in relation to Claude's work—unsurpassed, indeed, by any district unless it be the winding course of the Tiber, above Rome—must be given to the long line of coast that stretches between Civit  Vecchia on the north and the Monte Circeo headland on the south, perhaps further to Terracina,

¹ In the corner of a luminous but sombre picture by Claude at Windsor an artist at work is protected from the sinking sun by an umbrella held by an attendant.

² o.o.7. 148. Lady Dilke strangely interprets the inscription on this drawing as referring to the Palatine and Coelian Hills in Rome.

where the mountains finally come down to the sea. Along this melancholy shore, backed by thickets and fever-haunted marshes, the haunt of the wild boar, a succession of forts takes us back to the time of the raids of the Saracens. These square, crenellated towers are found at intervals of two or three miles. To the seaward, on a calm afternoon in summer, the sun as it sinks to the horizon is reflected on the expanse of water, and the sea breaks in ripples on the sandy, tideless shore. At intervals a low projecting headland forms a shelter, and in a little port a few fishing-boats and coasting feluccas lie at anchor. The great families of Rome had large holdings along this coast, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries more than one Pope attempted fitfully, by clearing out these little harbours, to restore a little of the old prosperity that is attested by the masses of Roman masonry now washed by the waves. At Anzio, where so many fine marbles have been found and where the Colonna family so long ruled, the Pamfili had a villa in the seventeenth century;¹ at Nettuno, near at hand, the Borghese. Further south, at Astura, the old castle of the Frangipani has long been deserted, and the sea covers the remains of the vast villa of Cicero.

Far away to the north the low hills come down

¹ This is probably the fortified port seen from the land side in the etching known as the "Draftsman," in the drawing from the Malcolm Collection in the British Museum, and again in the picture (L.V., 44) in Lord Northbrook's collection.



SKETCH FOR THE DULWICH "SEAPORT AT SUNSET"

British Museum

to the coast, and here the Barberini had a large holding. This was at Sta. Marinella where the Via Aurelia creeps round Capo Linaro, and here Claude found the subject for one of his earliest pictures; his first commission from Urban VIII., the Barberini Pope. Baldinucci, indeed, tells us that Claude took himself expressly to Porta Marinella to draw the view.

But it was the busy port of Cività Vecchia, close at hand, that provided him with the material—the *staffage*—for so many of his harbour pieces. The scenes at the landing-place, the groups of cavaliers, the pottery spread on the shore, that we see in his earlier works (in the little port scene in the Louvre, for instance, repeated on a large scale in a picture at Florence) were replaced at a later time by groups of classical figures—St. Ursulas, Sta. Paolas, or Cleopatras—landing or embarking. All traces of contemporary buildings—for we may at times in the earlier pictures distinguish lighthouses and mediæval towers—are now rigorously excluded, and we are presented with an idealised Roman port as restored by the architects and antiquaries of the day.

These ports of the Latin coast are comparatively free from malaria even in the summer months. But Claude appears also to have sketched in the deadly marsh country around Porto and Ostia. We may recognise in some of his drawings certain primitive circular huts of reeds and branches. These *capanne* are described by Virgil, and they still form the temporary dwellings of the reed-cutters and

charcoal-burners in the marshy districts near the mouth of the Tiber.

The aspect of the Campagna, as a whole, can have changed but little since the time of Claude. It is probable that by the beginning of the sixteenth century the land had mostly fallen out of cultivation. Towards the end of that century Gregory XIII. had cleared large tracts of the lower country from brushwood. His successor, Sixtus V., had cut down the forests on the hillsides to root out the brigands that haunted them. Still there was probably somewhat more wooded ground in Claude's day than now. But for Claude the bare, open Campagna had no attraction. As we have seen, he found his material in the fertile *accidenté* land by the upper stretches of the Tiber, amid the limestone mountains that border the plain, and, finally, in the harbours of the Latin coast. It is curious that we have no record of his having suffered from malarial fever. The fashionable complaint at that time seems to have been the *podagra*, the gout, to which Claude was a victim. Nor do we hear in his case, as in that of Salvator, of any adventures with brigands. Perhaps then, as in later days, a slouch hat and a portfolio under the arm may have been the best of protection from these gentry.

If we now turn to the city itself, within whose walls he passed seventy years of his life, it is remarkable—at least to our present point of view it seems so—that Claude never made its buildings the subject of a picture. The one exception is the little “Campo Vaccino” in the Louvre, perhaps



SKETCH IN THE CAMPAGNA

Pen and bistre wash. British Museum



his earliest extant work in oil.¹ The *subject* of a picture, I say, for the materials used in the composition of his works Claude did, to a certain extent, find within as well as without the walls of Rome. The columns and entablatures of the Temple of Vespasian, the Flavian Amphitheatre, and other well-known Roman ruins, are often to be recognised in his works. On the other hand, I do not think that the dome of St. Peter's—the marvel of the age—occurs in a single instance. That such a distinction was right and inevitable would no doubt to Claude appear self-evident. But to analyse the point of view in such matters of the contemporary connoisseur and of the artist who catered to him would take us too far. Suffice to say that at that time any such introduction of contemporary buildings or associations would be regarded as out of place and incongruous with the train of sentiment that the picture was primarily intended to stir up.

But for all this the Rome of the day must have deeply influenced Claude ; not only the remains of antiquity, but the new buildings—the classical churches and the palaces that were springing up on every side. To reproduce the surroundings of the Rome of the empire had long been the ambition of the Renaissance builders, and the aim was never more vigorously pursued than at this time. The rather commonplace classical façades that we see in so many of Claude's harbour pieces were

¹ The view of the Pincian Hill, in the National Gallery, I am not prepared to accept as an undoubted work of Claude.

taken from the works of contemporary architects—the Algardis, the Berninis, and the Borrominis, who succeeded one another in favour at the papal court. The introduction of such buildings was seriously intended to call to mind the palmy days of Rome; at all events, to suggest a vague but glorious long-passed age, an age in which lived not only the heroes and saints of classical and early Christian times, but also, it would seem, the patriarchs and prophets of the old dispensation. Towards the end of his life Claude fell more and more under the influence of the *baroque*; we see occasionally in his later pictures and designs for pictures those curved outlines and onion-shaped cupolas that to us call to mind rather the late classical buildings of Germany than any work of Roman art.

Great changes were taking place in Rome during Claude's lifetime. The Barberini, the Pamfili, and the Chigi popes¹ were all great builders. Before the end of the century the city had, as a whole, assumed that stately, if somewhat sombre, aspect that distinguished it during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The students of antiquity and the foreign artists that visited Rome found themselves, as the seventeenth century drew to a close, in a world easy-going and cosmopolitan in character. The *capa y espada* life of the early years of the century was already a thing of the past. From this time it is but an easy transition to the days of Winckelmann and Goethe. Perhaps

¹ Urban VIII. (1623-44), Innocent X. (1644-55), and Alexander VII. (1655-67).



THE CAMPO VACCINO
Etching by Claude

there has been more change in the external aspect of Rome within the last thirty years than during the two hundred that preceded the fall of the papal government.

Evelyn, who arrived in Rome late in the year 1644, at once began "to be very pragmatICAL"—with the aid of a "sightsman," or cicerone, he worked as hard as a modern tourist. In the foreground of Claude's etching of the Forum we may see one of these guides pointing out the ruins to a group of travellers. Evelyn, who does not fail to mention "Monsieur Poussin, a Frenchman," as one of the most eminent painters in Rome, lodged in the same quarter as Claude—his windows, he says, looked across to the Villa Medici. He seems to dog the footsteps of our master, but the name of Claude is not mentioned by him. Thus on the first day of Lent he visited the Greek Church and "saw the unfortunate Duke and Duchess of Bouillon receive their ashes." It was for this Duke, he it remembered, that Claude but shortly after this time painted the famous "Bouillon" harbour scene, now in the National Gallery. Then, again, he went to "the gardens of Justinian," where he may have seen Claude at work sketching. Here he admired the statues and other antiquities—he noticed, too, "a delicate aviary" on the hill. "The whole gardens . . . fresh, shady, and adorned with noble fountains."

Martin Zeiler in his *Itinerarium Italiae* (Frankfort, 1640; see p. 45 for his association with Sandrart) alludes with evident surprise to the great liberty allowed to all at Rome. The Calvinist

merchants are asked no question so long as they avoid speaking on religious matters. On your arrival in the city you engage a carriage, and in the charge of a "Schweitzer," or guide, proceed to see the sights. These, by the aid of a little *guida oder wegweiser*, sold in Rome, may be, if one is pressed for time, done in four days. All this has a very modern air. If we go back a few years the tone is quite different. Thus M. de Villamont, writing in the first year of the century, sums up the life in Rome in these words: "Au surplus c'est une cité fort libre et assurée pour tous les poltrons où l'on est le bien venu quand on y porte de l'argent; car vivez, hâtez les putains, jouey, blasphemer et coïtmettre toutes sortes de peschez, personne ne vous en dira rien."

Among Claude's drawings there are several that illustrate the Rome of his day and the changes that were taking place. It is, indeed, to an early etching and to the already-mentioned little picture in the Louvre that we must go for a view of the Forum. One point is noticeable here—it is still a true *Campo Vaccino*, an utterly neglected cattle-market, where the *contadini*, who have ridden in from the Campagna, meet to sell their stock. There are no trees to be seen. Now in Falda's map, published some twenty or thirty years later, the well-known avenue that we see in Piranesi's famous engraving already stretches from the Arch of Severus to the Church of Sta. Francesca Romana. Some attempt, it would seem, had in the interval been made to embellish the place.



ST. PETER'S FROM THE SOUTH, WITH BERNINI'S TOWER

Drawing in black chalk. British Museum

Claude made several drawings, in which the mass of St. Peter's is a prominent object. One in the British Museum (No. 150) is of especial interest. We see the great church from the heights to the south. To the left the circular towers of the old Leonine wall are conspicuous; the bastions of the new fortifications of Urban VIII. are apparently still unfinished. But what of the tall tower that rises over the façade of St. Peter's? I confess that I was at first much puzzled by this. But the explanation may be found in the troubled story of Bernini's relations to the building. The Romanesque campanile of the old church had been taken down in 1610. Bernini, who succeeded Carlo Maderno in the charge of the *Fabbrica*, had designed and partly executed an openwork tower, which was to complete Maderno's façade. This was in the early forties; but when, in 1644, Bernini's patron, Urban VIII., died, the Barberini faction was broken up, and the great architect was exposed to the attacks of his rivals. The campanile was declared to endanger the security of the façade, and was finally taken down in 1646.¹ This drawing of Claude may therefore be dated about the year 1644.

There is a second drawing in the same collection taken from a spot a little further to the south, in fact, from "*la vigne de Papa Innocent*" (that is, from the gardens of the Pamfili Villa), as

¹ Evelyn (December, 1644), describing the façade of St. Peter's, says, "On each side of the portico are two (*sic*) campaniles or towers, whereof there was but one perfected — of admirable art."

we learn from an inscription in Claude's writing. In this powerful drawing, which is dated May, 1646, no trace can be seen of Bernini's campanile.

Of Claude's other drawings of Roman buildings—early studies of the walls of Rome, sketches of the Colosseum and of the quays of the Tiber—there is no space to speak. There are among them some of great interest of buildings and ruins to which I have been unable to give a name.

I have, perhaps, dwelled too long on the topography of Rome and the surrounding country. But we are here concerned with the raw material which Claude worked up to form his pictures. The subject—to the writer, at least—is a very fascinating one, and the ground is comparatively unexplored.¹

¹ I may mention that in that storehouse of information about Claude and his surroundings, Lady Dilke's invaluable *Life*, this branch is somewhat meagrely treated, and what we find of topographical identification is not always quite accurate.

CHAPTER VI

CLAUDE'S PATRONS

The origin of the *Liber Veritatis*—The principal patrons of Claude and the pictures that he painted for them.

BALDINUCCI, after mentioning Claude's return to Rome at the end of 1627, continues thus : "He took a house in the city and began to give proof of his powers in the many pictures that he executed for various lovers of art, both for native connoisseurs and for foreigners also, until, finally, two pictures that he painted as a commission from the Cardinal Bentivoglio gained him so much credit, not only from that great prelate, but even from His Holiness the Pope Urban VIII., who saw them as soon as they were finished, that from that time his studio began to be frequented, first of all by the Cardinal himself, then by other cardinals, and finally by princes of every condition. And from then until the hour of his death it was not easy to become the owner of one of his pictures. The road was blocked to everyone who was not a great prince or great prelate, unless, indeed, by the agency of much money, of great industry, and long patience, an introduction had been obtained."¹

¹ I scarcely think that Baldinucci means that the road to Claude's house was actually blocked by the carriages

It cannot well have been much if at all before the year of Sandrart's departure from Rome (1635) that Claude was thus started on the road to fame and fortune. The commission from the Barberini Pope was given in the year 1639. From that time onward Claude, who was already, we must remember, in his fortieth year, was established as a fashionable painter. It is perhaps significant that it was soon after this that we hear for the first time of those attacks of gout to which he became more and more a martyr in later days.

In the case of other artists—painters, sculptors, and above all architects—the death of the Pope might involve a complete break in their career. Never was this more the case than at the close of the long rule of Urban VIII. in 1644. We have already noticed one instance—the temporary disgrace of the great Bernini. At that time, after a period of predominating French influence, it was the Spanish faction that came in with the Pamfili Pope (Innocent X.). There was at once a *sauve qui peut* of nephews, cardinals, and lesser dignitaries who had fattened at the court of the splendour-loving Barberini Pope.

Claude, however, appears to have been unaffected by the change—the new Pope was as eager as his predecessor to possess a *prospettiva* or a sea-piece by the great landscape painter.

of cardinals and princes (so the passage has been translated). He is merely giving a vigorous expression to the difficulty of access to his studio, except by means of introductions from high quarters and the expenditure of liberal vails.

The interval between 1640 and 1650 was perhaps the busiest of Claude's life. In it were produced many of his most famous pictures. Towards the end of the period we find him engaged in an extensive series of paintings commissioned by the King of Spain—the *Re Cattolica*. Baldinucci, after giving a long list of the great people for whom Claude at this period executed commissions, comes to speak of the origin of a work about which we shall have something further to say in a later chapter. This is the famous *Libro d' Invenzioni*, otherwise known as the *Liber Veritatis*. For the present we are chiefly concerned with the information concerning Claude and his relations to his patrons that can be gleaned from the manuscript notes on the drawings that make up this collection. It is upon these notes and upon the few details given by Sandrart and Baldinucci that we have to depend in tracing the early history of Claude's pictures.

Sandrart makes no mention of the "Liber." Let us then note carefully what Baldinucci tells us. He has been speaking of some of Claude's most famous pictures, naming their owners.

"Many others were the works of Claude, of which it is impossible to trace the history. Nor indeed in the case of those that we have mentioned would it have been possible to give so much information had it not been for the assistance of a book containing the compositions of his pictures (*invenzioni*) which has been preserved. This book was made as a remedy or protection after a great trouble with regard to his works that

arose about the time that he was working at the first pictures for His Majesty the Catholic King. The matter fell out thus : While Claude was engaged in painting the above-mentioned pictures for the King, and indeed before he had fully indicated their general design, certain painters, jealous of his fame and eager for unjust gain, not only robbed him of his designs, but even imitated his method of painting. These copies were handed about in Rome as originals from his brush. By this means the master was discredited, those for whom the pictures were made were ill provided, and the purchasers to whom the copies were delivered as originals were defrauded of their money. But the matter did not end there, seeing that whatever precautions he took the same thing happened. Our poor Claude, a man above all of simple ways, not knowing from whom among the many that frequented his studio he had to protect himself, was at a loss what course to take. Every day pictures were brought to him in order that he might identify them as works by his hand. Hereupon he made up his mind to form a book. This work I gazed at with delight and admiration when it was shown me by the painter himself in his own studio in Rome. In this book he began to copy the compositions (*invenzioni*) of all the works that he parted with, expressing in them with a truly masterly touch every detail, however minute, of the picture in question. He noted too on the drawing the name of the person for whom the picture was made, and if my memory serves me the price

that he obtained for the work.¹ To this book he gave the name of *Libro d'Invenzioni*, or *Libro di Verità*, and from this time forth on every occasion that a picture, whether by him or by another, was submitted to him, without wasting time in talk he would turn to his book, saying, 'I never allow a work to leave my studio until, after it is completely finished, I have copied it with my own hand in this book. Now I desire that you should form your own decision in the matter in doubt. Search therefore here! See if you can find your picture.' After this, seeing that the painter who had copied Claude's compositions had not by a long way hit the mark exactly, the difference was manifest to every eye and the fraud was exposed."

This is all we know from contemporary record as to the origin of this famous book. There are many difficulties in reconciling the narrative of Baldinucci with the work of Claude as it has come down to us. For the present, however, we are only concerned with the "Liber" as a source of information by which we may trace the history of the master's principal works.²

One point, however, which has a most important bearing upon the interpretation of this collection of drawings must not be passed over. It

¹ Baldinucci's memory did not serve him here. There is in no case any record of price on the drawings.

² Sir Walter Armstrong aptly compares these "Liber" drawings to the sketches of their pictures made by French artists, which are reproduced in the earlier illustrated catalogues of the yearly *salons* (Turner, p. 64).

has been most strangely overlooked by the many learned writers who have devoted time and trouble to the decipherment of the inscriptions on the drawings. Baldinucci tells us that it was while engaged on his pictures for the King of Spain that the idea first occurred to him of preserving a record of all the works that passed out of his studio. Now although we do not know the exact date at which this commission was executed, we may take it that it could not have been much before the year 1650. By this date Claude had already reached the middle point of his career as an artist. Although from this time onwards he might by adhering carefully to the system then first adopted be able to preserve a more or less complete record of his pictures arranged in chronological order, this he could hardly ensure for his earlier works.

If we turn now to the "Liber," as it has come down to us, we find evidence that such was indeed the case. There is an important difference between the earlier and the later part of the work. Speaking generally, it is only the drawings made after the year 1651 that are dated, beginning with No. 125 of the series. Of the drawings numbered 1 to 124 in the present arrangement only seven (or $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) bear a date. What evidence we can get from other sources makes it clear that there is very little attempt at a chronological order in this part of the work. Of the remaining seventy-six drawings, on the other hand, on as many as sixty-five (or 88 per cent.) the year is indicated, and in these

the arrangement is on the whole chronological. If we omit the first two drawings of the collection as well as the fifth, which are certainly widely out of place, and again the last four or five, which probably do not belong to the original series, the contrast between the earlier and the later parts becomes even more striking.

It will be noted, however, that those of the King of Spain's pictures which are represented in the "Liber" (Nos. 32 and 47-50) are all undated, and they, too, are quite out of their chronological order. I think, indeed, that the systematic carrying out of this plan of registration can only have been started at a somewhat later date than that indicated by Baldinucci.

The dated drawings, as we have seen, begin with the year 1652. There is some reason to believe that Claude was about this time settling down again to his old industrious, humdrum life after a break of one or two years, during which he appears to have produced little. Of the possible cause of this interruption in his work I shall have to speak later on.

I will now as briefly as possible pass in review the pictures that Claude executed for some of his more important patrons, selecting by preference those that throw any light upon his friends and surroundings. Here we are in the main dependent upon the manuscript notes made in part by Claude himself, in part probably by his heirs, on the back and front of the drawings in the Liber Veritatis. These notes are, as usual with Claude, written in a strange mixture of French, Italian,

and Latin. The proper names are spelled more or less phonetically, but if they follow the pronunciation that the writer gave to the words, this must have been a strictly original one. To add to our difficulties, the writing is sometimes quite illegible. But we must make the best we can of these scraps. Their importance lies in the fact that they are practically the source of all that we know of the artistic life of Claude after the year that Sandrart left Rome, that is to say, for the last forty-seven years of his life. The information derived from the "Liber" may indeed be supplemented and confirmed by a passage in Baldinucci, in which he enumerates the purchasers of the more important pictures of Claude, by a few scattered remarks of Sandrart, and finally by some hints that may be gleaned from the terms of his will.

This question of the purchasers of Claude's work has been most fully treated by Lady Dilke. In her life of the master she has carefully collected every scrap of information bearing on the subject.

1. If we are to recognise in the two little canvases in the Louvre, of which I have already spoken—the "Campo Vaccino" and the "Seaport with Crockery Dealer"—the pictures that Claude painted for "*Monseigr l'ambassadeur de France, Monsr de Betune*" (compare L.V., Nos. 9 and 10),¹ there is some reason for dating them as early

¹ Ph. de Béthune, who died in 1649, was the younger brother of the great Sully. We may here note that the first ten pictures of which the destination is mentioned in the Liber Veritatis were all of them painted for French patrons.

as the year 1629, for it is doubtful whether the ambassador was in Rome much later than this date. But for all we know M. de Béthune may have commissioned them at a subsequent time. In any case we may perhaps safely regard these little canvases as the earliest of Claude's works in oil that have survived.

2. According, however, to Baldinucci, it was the great prelate, Cardinal Bentivoglio, historian, diplomat, and patron of the arts, who was the first of Claude's princely patrons. Bentivoglio had received the hat as early as 1621; before that time he had resided as Apostolic Nuncio in France, and had published a well-known description of the Low Countries. He predeceased Pope Urban, whose trusted counsellor he had been, by only a few months. Not long before—so profuse had been his expenditure—he was constrained to sell his vast palace (now the Palazzo Rospigliosi). His patronage of Claude may probably be referred to the early thirties. But Bentivoglio's name does not occur in the *Liber Veritatis*, nor can we identify any picture as having been in his collection.

3. We now come to Claude's earliest dated works. These are the two pictures now in the Louvre—the "*Fête Villageoise*" and the "*Port de mer au soleil couchant*," which both bear his signature and the date 1639. These pictures, according to the *Liber Veritatis* (Nos. 13 and 14), were painted for Urban VIII., to whom our master had been lately introduced by Cardinal Bentivoglio. This is what Baldinucci says:

"When Pope Urban saw the pictures made for the Cardinal, he was in the highest degree pleased. Not content with praising them in the warmest terms, he desired to see the painter. When he was presented to him, after a most friendly reception, he gave him a commission to paint four pictures for himself. Claude at once applied himself to the work with great zeal, and executed for him a marine with a great number of vessels, and near at hand some buildings with the most noble architecture. In another, in accordance with the desire of the said Pope, he represented the port of Marinella on the Roman coast (see p. 57), whither he expressly took himself to draw the view. In a third he introduced a dance, the fourth finally was a pastoral scene." The first and third of these pictures are doubtless the dated canvases now in the Louvre—the drawings for them in the "Liber" are inscribed, "*Faite pour sa Sainte de ppa Urbano*." The last, the "Pastoral Scene," has been identified with the view of Castel Gandolfo (L.V., 35, "*faict per papa Urbano*"), still remaining in the Barberini palace. The "Port of Marinella" (L.V., 46) has disappeared. The divergent position of the members of this group of pictures in the Liber Veritatis (Nos. 13, 14, 35, and 46) should be noted; we have here an illustration of the non-chronological arrangement of the early part of this work.

4. The "Seaport with Setting Sun," now in the Uffizi at Florence, was painted probably for the young Cardinal Giovanni Carlo de' Medici,



JUBILEE MEDAL OF URBAN VIII OPENING THE DOOR OF ST. PETER'S
From an example in the British Museum

brother to the Grand Duke. This picture is an amplification of the little early sea-piece in the Louvre—the same incidents are introduced in the foreground. The almost illegible date on this picture may perhaps be read 1644. The drawing for it is No. 28 of the “Liber.” Baldinucci tells us that in addition to this “*bellissima marina*,” Claude painted for the Cardinal a view of the “*Palazzo della Serenissima casa della Trinità de’ Monti*,” otherwise the Villa Medici.

5. Among the worldly and pleasure-loving ecclesiastics who surrounded the Barberini Pope, Cardinal Poli, the *præfectus domi* at the Vatican, was surpassed by few in extravagance and splendour of living. It is, however, noteworthy that the two pictures that Claude painted for him are dated 1646, they are therefore subsequent to the death of his patron, Urban VIII. One of these canvases is the “Embarkation of St. Ursula,” now in the National Gallery. On the back of the drawing of this picture, No. 54 of the “Liber,” is inscribed “*Claudio fecit in V.R. quadro faict pour lem^e Cardinale Poli, si ritrova dal lemi^{mo} Cardinale Barberino*”—that is to say the picture had already passed into the hands of one of the nephews of the late Pope. Did the now disgraced *nipote* find consolation amid his misfortunes in gazing on the calm silvery tones of this beautiful picture? The other work painted for Cardinal Poli (L.V., No. 73)—a landscape with St. George or Bellerophon—likewise passed to Cardinal Antonio Barberini. It was last recognised in the Beckford Collection.

6. Quite another stamp of man was the Cardinal Giorio, for whom Claude painted as many as seven pictures. He had been the tutor of Urban VIII.'s nephews, and after the Pope's death he lived in retirement upon the Janiculum. He too may have found solace in his quiet retreat in the works of our master; for only one of the pictures painted for him can have been executed within the lifetime of the Barberini Pope. This is the much-rubbed port-scene in the National Gallery with dull brick-red sky (L.V., No. 43¹). Two of the finest Claudes in the Louvre came from the Giorio Collection—the "Landing of Cleopatra" (L.V., No. 63), perhaps the best preserved in the gallery, and the "Samuel crowning David." These are companion works, and the latter is dated 1647. For Cardinal Giorio he painted too about this time the seaport now belonging to the Marquis of Bute; into this work he has introduced a strange jumble of Roman ruins (L.V., No. 31). Another of the Giorio pictures was a figure subject, "St. Paul in Prison," which has disappeared.

7. We have seen that Claude, during the greater part of the forties, was occupied with commissions for members of the Barberini faction, and this even after the death of the Barberini Pope, Urban VIII., in 1644. It must have been immediately after the accession of his successor, Innocent X., perhaps even somewhat earlier, that

¹ L.V., No. 28 says the National Gallery catalogue, but this is surely the already mentioned port-scene painted for Cardinal Medici. See below, chapter xiii.



THE MARRIAGE OF ISAAC AND REBECCA. (IL MOLINO)

Palazzo Doria Pamfili, Rome

he received his first commission from the nephew of the new Pope. This was the prince who occupied so important a place in the *chronique scandaleuse* of the time, Camillo Pamfili, married by his mother (the astute Olympia Maidalchina who ruled over the whole papal family) to the rich heiress, Olympia Aldobrandini. In the *Liber Veritatis* there is record of four pictures painted for "*Prince Panfille*." Of these three may still be seen in Rome in the great palace of the Doria Pamfili family—they are probably the only pictures of Claude of first-rate importance that have remained in the hands of the family for whom they were in the first instance painted. The most famous, perhaps, is the "*Molino*" (L.V., No. 113), otherwise known as the "Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca," familiar to us by the replica—if replica it be rather than copy—now in the National Gallery, so inferior to the original in delicacy of execution and detail of composition.

Probably of somewhat later date is the "Temple of Apollo, in the Island of Delos" (L.V., 119), a picture by many preferred to the "*Molino*." It may indeed be classed with the "Enchanted Castle" and the "Polyphemus" at Dresden. These are works of that culminating period of Claude's career beyond which he never advanced in later years.

The third of the pictures painted for Prince Camillo—"Mercury stealing the Cattle of Admetus" (L.V., No. 92)—is a work of great beauty, but eclipsed by its glorious companions. The fourth work, a "Rural Landscape" (L.V.,

No. 107) has parted company from the others. It is now one of the glories of the Gallery at Pesth.

8. We have in the National Gallery two large pictures of Claude that are of interest to us in more than one aspect. One of these is the canvas that bears the inscription "*La Reine de Saba va trouver Salamon.*" This is the beautiful and well-preserved harbour scene that excited Turner's emulation and in rivalry to which he painted his glowing "Rise of the Carthaginian Empire." The picture is further inscribed "*Claude Gil I. V. faict pour son Altesse le Duc de Buillon, a Roma, 1648*" (L.V., No. 114). The other is the well-known replica of the "*Molino*," or to follow the title painted on it, "*Mariage Disac avec Rebeca.*" It is dated like its companion, 1648. The Duc de Bouillon was the ruling prince of a little state, soon after this seized by the French.¹ At this time he was in command of the papal troops. He is the "unfortunate duke" that Evelyn saw "taking the ashes" in the Greek church (p. 61). This residence in Rome is perhaps the one peaceful interlude in a stormy life. Before this he had intrigued against Richelieu; later on he was one of the moving spirits of the Fronde. D'Argenville, writing in the eighteenth century, mentions that he had seen *two* large pictures by Claude of the highest merit in the Hôtel de Bouillon, in Paris. They came over to England in the time of the Revolution. Turner must have first seen them in the Angerstein Collec-

¹ Bouillon is now Belgian; it lies to the north of Sedan.

tion, whence they passed to form part of the nucleus of the National Gallery.¹

9. We now come to the long series of fine works that Claude painted for the King of Spain. This is what Baldinucci says—he has been speaking of the pictures painted for Urban VIII. “In the meantime the fame of his brush had spread through the whole of Europe, and by order of His Majesty the Catholic King he had to paint eight pictures. In the first four the subjects were taken from the Old Testament; in the others from the New Testament.” In another passage Baldinucci, as we have seen, attributes the conception of the *Liber Veritatis* to the time when Claude was painting the *first portion* for the Spanish monarch. There are now in the Prado Museum ten important works of Claude; five of these are represented in the “*Liber*” (cf. above, p. 71), but in no case have we the aid of a date. Velasquez was in Rome in 1629, buying pictures and statues for the King, his master. We can certainly not bring the great Spanish painter at this early date into connection with Claude; with Sandrart possibly, who, indeed, about this time painted a picture for the Catholic King (see p. 36). Velasquez’s second visit to Rome was in 1650. It was on this occasion that he painted his famous portrait of the Pamfili

¹ I shall have something more to say of the “*Molino*” in chapter xiii. It is perhaps significant that in the *Liber Veritatis* the “*Queen of Sheba*” (L. V., No. 114) “*faict pour le Duc de Buillon*” follows the “*Molino*” (L. V., No. 113), painted for the Pamfili prince. Baldinucci too only mentions one picture painted for the “*Duca di Buglione*.”

Pope. Claude was at the same time working for Prince Camillo, and the two artists may have been brought together. We are told that Velasquez when in Rome made the acquaintance of Poussin and Du Quesnoy—men who lived in the same circle as Claude. He met, too, Cerquozzi, a landscape painter not uninfluenced by our master. With Salvator Rosa he held learned discussions, but not a word of Claude. Velasquez, however wide his artistic sympathies, can have seen little to admire in Claude's quiet landscapes. To him they probably appeared laboured and tame. His sympathies were rather with the Venetians, yet more with the men of the big brush, such as the Spaniard Ribera, at that time settled at Naples. Still the coincidence of date is remarkable. We may finally note that the years 1649-51 are otherwise a blank in Claude's artistic out-turn.

10. The Cardinal Fabio Chigi was elected to the papacy on the death of Innocent X. in 1655. Once more Claude found in the new Pope one who was thoroughly in sympathy with the spirit of his works. Alexander VII., a man of no great strength of character, was, above all, a friend of the arts. Few popes have taken a more active interest in the embellishment of the city, and it is in this reign that we must place the consummation of that seventeenth-century architecture that was giving a new aspect to the city. As for his relations with Claude, Baldinucci tells us "that for His Holiness the Pope Alexander VII. he painted two pictures, and these are a 'Europa with the Bull' and a 'Battle upon a Bridge.'

And seeing that this Pope not only held his talents in high esteem, but had a great affection for him personally, Claude had other work to do for the Chigi house." The two pictures here mentioned were painted in 1655, the year of the Pope's accession. The drawing of the "Europa" in the "Liber" (No. 136) is indeed inscribed "*faict Sig Ill^{mo} Cardinal . . . creato pero giusto Papa.*" The composition is founded upon one of the most famous of his etchings, which bears the date 1654 (some read 1634, but this on stylistic grounds is unlikely). Claude made at least three other versions of this picture. That now in Buckingham Palace, dated as late as 1667, is one of the most beautiful of his works, and is in good condition. The other picture painted for Pope Alexander, "The Battle on the Bridge"—the drawing is No. 137 in the "Liber"—is inscribed "*faict p.p. Alexandro.*" This, as well as one of the versions of the "Europa," is said to be in the collection of Prince Yusupoff in St. Petersburg.

Of more interest for us is the picture that Claude painted in 1658 for the Pope's favourite nephew—"Il principe Don Agostino," which we may call either "Sinon before Priam" or "David at the Cave of Adullam" (L.V., No. 145). This canvas passed from the hands of the Chigi family at the time of the French occupation of Rome. It was acquired by an "English banker," Mr. Sloane,¹ and subsequently sold to the Rev.

¹ Apparently the same gentleman of whom a curious autobiographical sketch may be found in Buchanan's *Memoirs of Painting*.

W. Holwell-Carr. By him it was bequeathed, in 1831, to the National Gallery. We possess in it a notable example of Claude's later middle period.

II. The two important pictures that Claude about this time painted for François Bosquet, Bishop of Montpellier, may here be mentioned. The earlier of these is that curiously composed work, the "Mount Thabor," now at Grosvenor House. Claude could make nothing of the word Montpellier. On the drawing in the "Liber" (No. 138) he first tried "Montpietre," scratched that out and replaced it by "Montpiglier." It remained for Lady Dilke, when examining the famous volume at Chatsworth, to identify this "Monsieur Montpiolre" (so the name had previously been read) with the French bishop who came to Rome early in 1656, the year found on the drawing. The other picture for this bishop—"Esther and Ahasuerus" (L.V., No. 146)—was painted in 1662. Of this once famous work there is now no trace. Baldinucci goes out of his way to praise this picture. "Let no one wonder," he says, "that among his many works I make particular mention of this one, because it is known to me that Claude himself was wont to say that this was the most beautiful that ever came from his hands. And such was too the estimation in which this work was held by all true connoisseurs, not for the charm of the landscape alone, but also for certain marvellous architecture that adorns the work." It must be confessed that there is nothing in the "Liber" design or in a drawing of the subject in the British Museum, squared out for reproduc-

tion, to support this superlative praise. But we see by this quotation that Claude's carefully designed architecture was not lost upon his contemporaries.

12. To judge from a passage in the will of Claude, with no other dignitary of the papal court was he so intimate as with the Cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi, who in the year 1667 was raised to the chair of St. Peter as Clement IX. Four years before this time, when Claude first made his will, he in a special clause bequeathed to the Cardinal "*due disegni a sua elezione delli miei studi.*" He was to have the choice of two drawings as an acknowledgment of the good advice by which Claude had often benefited.

It is, indeed, a tribute to the sterling qualities of Claude as a man and a proof of the estimation in which he was held that he should have been on such intimate terms with the Rospigliosi Pope; for Clement IX., in spite of his short reign of little more than two years, left his mark on the times, and he was universally esteemed as a man of high character. The pictures which, as Baldinucci tells us, Claude painted for Clement IX., "*di santa memoria,*" were all commissioned before the ascent of Clement to the papal throne. Two of them were, indeed, probably painted many years earlier. The young shepherd playing on his pipe under a tree we know only from the "Liber" (No. 15). It is inscribed "*faict pour Sig^r Mons^r Ruspirose.*" He was not yet even a cardinal, it would seem. The second (L.V., No. 34), where we see a party of brigands attacking

travellers, belonged formerly to the Musgrave family. This, too, is probably an early work ; the principal figures occur again in the "Brigand" etching of 1633. On the other hand, on the "Liber" drawing for the third of the Rospigliosi pictures is written "Quadro faict per Ill^{mo} Mons Rospiglioso p.p^a 1668" (No. 70). The picture then was probably in hand at the time of the Pope's election. The subject, according to the quaint inscription (too long to quote here), is the same as that of a well-known picture by Turner—"Mercury and Herse"—"*favola cavata nell' annotazione dell' Secondo libro di Ovidio.*" This is written by Claude himself, and we have here a hint as to the source to which Claude went at this time in search of classical incidents. The "Annotazione" in question is to be found in a contemporary translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

There was, however, one canvas that the Pope was unable to induce Claude to part with. This was a careful study of trees which, says Baldinucci, *he had painted for himself from nature* in the grounds of the Vigna Madama. Here on the northerly slopes of the Janiculum Raphael had designed a beautiful villa for the Medici Pope, Clement VII. The terraced hillside is still backed by dark masses of foliage—nowhere in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome are such noble groups of trees to be found. The place was a favourite sketching-ground with Claude. "*Facto a la Vigna Madama*" we find on more than one of his drawings. "His Holiness Clement IX.," continues Baldinucci, "was ready to pay

him as many gold doubloons as would suffice to cover the whole canvas. But no offer would ever induce Claude to part with it ; for, said he, as was indeed the truth, he turned to it every day to see the variety of the trees and the foliage."

This quotation is important as confirming what Sandrart dwells upon in more than one passage—that it was the habit of Claude to paint, presumably in oil, directly from nature. But what has become of these studies? Were they subsequently worked up into pictures? It is possible that certain small canvases, in which the highly finished foliage plays an important part—I would point, for instance, to the little upright picture, No. 58 in the National Gallery—may have had some such origin.

13. Eight pictures, says Baldinucci, did Claude paint for the Contestabile Colonna. He had, indeed, no more important patron during the later years of his life. In a catalogue of the eighteenth century there is mention of eighteen pictures by Claude in the great Colonna Palace on the slope of the Quirinal. Here we may still see, at the end of the long gallery by which we enter, the ten landscapes that Gaspar Poussin painted in tempera on the walls ; but of Claude's works, I think only one unimportant example remains.

Of these Colonna Claudes, one, says Baldinucci, "is of extreme beauty ; in it we have painted Psyche by the shore of the sea ; it has since become the property of the Marquis Pallavicino." This is almost the only instance in which we are in a position to confirm the high praise given to a

picture of Claude by a contemporary writer. Certainly in no other work by the master that we can point to at the present day is the poetical atmosphere rendered with such subtlety as in the world-famous "Enchanted Castle" (L.V., No. 162, 1664). This picture, of which Lady Wantage is now the fortunate possessor, has inspired some beautiful lines by Keats.

Of the other pictures that Claude painted for the Constable Colonna, only one is of so early a date. This is the "Riposo," or "Flight into Egypt" (L.V., No. 158), apparently the last work that Claude painted before the serious illness that, in the spring of 1663, laid him at death's door. The "Egeria" of the Naples Museum (L.V., No. 175) was painted for the Constable in 1669. The "Templum Veneris" (L.V., No. 178) has passed to the Rospigliosi family. Finally, one of the last drawings of the Liber Veritatis—the "Parnassus," No. 193—is inscribed on the front "*Roma, 1681, Claudio IV.,*" while on the back is written "*Quadro facto per ill^{mo} sig^r il sig. Contestabile Collonna, 1680.*" This double inscription seems to point to the drawing, in this case at least, having been made at a later date than the picture, and so far would confirm what Baldinucci tells us of the origin of the "Liber."



THE ENCHANTED CASTLE. (PSYCHE BY THE SEASHORE)
Lady Wantage, Lockinge



THE ENCHANTED CASTLE
Farlow's engraving of Liber Veritatis, No. 162

CHAPTER VII

CLAUDE'S WILL AND DEATH

Pictures painted for foreign countries—Claude's troubles with his assistant, Domenico—His will and death.

IN selecting the thirteen examples given in the last chapter from the long list of Claude's patrons that might be drawn up from the materials to be found in the "Liber" and in the accounts of his biographers, I have been guided chiefly by the desire of throwing light upon Claude's surroundings during the latter part of his prosperous career, during those long years about which we have so little information from other sources.

"Too long would be my story," says Baldinucci, after mentioning some of the more important of Claude's patrons, "if I should enumerate the great people who sought to obtain his pictures. I will, then, content myself with a list of the cities to which the works of Claude have found their way, to become the ornament of the greatest palaces and galleries. Thirty-three of his pictures went to Paris, five to Naples, twenty-six to Venice, two to Amsterdam, two to Antwerp, two again to Avignon, Lyons, and Montpellier." So again Sandrart, in similar terms: "This pen is too weak to do justice to the landscapes of the great master. Let

the connoisseurs inspect the works themselves now [1675] in the possession of the kings and potentates of the whole world. For us Germans," he continues, "I would especially refer to the Freiherr von Mayer, a true connoisseur and lover of the arts, and to his art cabinets at Munich and at Regensburg. He lightens the cares of office and fortifies his spirit with a remarkable collection of the rarest works of art." Another German patron was Count Waldestein, the "Monsignore Waldestain" for whom, Baldinucci tells us, Claude painted four pictures, two of which were intended for the Emperor.

These German commissions all belong to a late period of Claude's life. The earliest are probably the "Expulsion of Hagar," of 1668, and its companion of the same date, "Hagar and the Angel." These are Nos. 173 and 174 of the "Liber"; they were both painted for Count Waldestein, and they are now at Munich. Here, too, is the later rendering of "The Ford" that was painted in 1670 for Freiherr von Mayer (L.V., No. 176). As late as 1676 he executed for the same gentleman the "Jacob and Laban" (L.V., No. 188) which has been identified with the charming little Claude at Dulwich.

The few pictures that Claude painted for England belong to a comparatively early period. The Nos. 77 and 78 of the *Liber Veritatis* are simply noted "*pour Angleter.*" The first of these is the "Narcissus and Echo," that has found its way to the walls of our National Gallery. The other, an "Evening Scene," is now in Dorchester

House. At a much later time, in 1661, he painted a landscape (L.V., No. 155), which cannot now be traced, for a "M. Maldonald," whom we may reasonably assume to have been a Scotchman.

Between the years 1663 and 1666 Claude painted three important works for a certain "Ill^{mo} Sig. Carlo Cardello." These pictures are all now in England. Of the earliest—"The Golden Calf"—now at Grosvenor House—beside the version in the "Liber" (No. 129) there is an elaborate drawing in the Louvre. On the back of this last is written in English: "This is the original design of the celebrated picture that he painted for Sir Peter Lely. J. B." The initials probably stand for John Barnard, an English collector of the early eighteenth century. The other two pictures painted for the "Ill^{mo} Signore" (of whom we otherwise know nothing) are the sunset with the "Abduction of Helen," which belonged formerly to Lord Lansdowne (L.V., No. 132), and the great landscape with "Jacob and Laban," now at Petworth (L.V., No. 134).

I think that this Signor Cardello was very probably merely an intermediary—otherwise, a dealer. Already, before the middle of the seventeenth century, the collector-dealer was beginning to play an important part in the art world. The crowned heads of Europe had long been in the habit of sending special agents to Italy to collect works of art for them. Charles I. had such agents both in the Low Countries and in Italy. In other cases the task was entrusted to artists of distinction. Velasquez, as we have seen, was

twice in Italy—in 1629, and again twenty years later—on such a commission. But now, in Venice on the one hand, and in Amsterdam on the other, large collections were formed by men of bourgeois extraction, and these men were, many of them, ready to supply the demands of the princely collectors, who were already vying with one another in the picture market. At Rome there was Queen Christina of Sweden, in the Low Countries the Archduke Leopold William, in Germany the Duke of Bavaria, and many others, electors or prince-bishops. It would seem that no discredit was attached at that time to the most open “dealing transactions.” Sandrart, a man who prided himself upon his social distinction and sense of personal dignity, tells with evident glee of the large profit that he made by selling to an Amsterdam dealer a picture by Claude that he had brought with him from Italy.

Here I must break off from this long list of the contemporaries of Claude who became possessors of his works. I have enumerated popes, kings,—“Catholic” and “Most Christian”—cardinals and ambassadors, and finally landed myself in picture-dealers. Before passing on to the will of Claude and to the not unimportant facts and inferences as to his life that can be gleaned from this document, I will translate a passage that Baldinucci throws in at the end of his biography. The story receives no confirmation from any other source, but it may well have a basis of truth.

Claude, we are told, somewhere about the time when he was engaged upon the pictures for

Urban VIII. (*i.e. circa* 1640), took into his house a certain young man called Giovanni Domenico Romano. He was there more or less in the position of a domestic, and it fell to him to grind the colours, to clean the brushes, and to render assistance to his master by other humble tasks. Now Claude had at his own expense given this young Domenico some musical instruction. He learnt to play upon various instruments, among them, upon the "*strumento di tasti*," some kind of harpsichord or virginals, I suppose;¹ nay, more, he himself, with great affection, taught him how to paint. "Thereupon it began to be currently reported in Rome, that Claude employed his assistant to paint his pictures. This tale passing from mouth to mouth came at length to the ears of the young man. Domenico had already been with him for twenty-five years, and had at various times been the cause of annoyance to his master. He now, puffed up with vanity, departed from his house and prepared to bring an action-at-law, claiming payment for his salary for all the time he had been with him, during which time, indeed, he had been treated rather as a son than as a servant or pupil. When this reached the ears of our good master, he sent for Domenico, and

¹ That Claude was a lover of music, if not a musician himself, we might almost conclude from the evidence of his works. Not only the piping herd who so often is seen tending the flocks in the foreground points to this, but the very spirit that infuses his pictures. But this incident of the training of Domenico is, I think, the only positive evidence that we have for such a taste.

taking him with him to the bank of Santo Spirito, where he had a large sum of money deposited, he directed that the full sum demanded should be handed to him. Not long after this Giovanni Domenico departed this life; but Claude from this time forth was unwilling to train up pupils in his art. However firmly Claude may have persisted in this resolution, it did not prevent him from showing the greatest liberality in his counsels and precepts to all that came to him for advice."

This dispute with Domenico, according to the showing of his biographer, would have occurred about the year 1663, the time of Claude's serious illness, but we have seen that Baldinucci is, above all, to be mistrusted in his dates. Apart from the fact that he was a man of peace, a hater of disputes, Claude had, no doubt, good reason to keep clear of the Roman law-courts. At no time, we are told, were they in worse repute for venality and procrastination than in the days of Alexander VII.¹ One point in this story we may accept as substantially true, and it is one that throws some light upon the relations of Claude to his imitators and successors. These younger men who fell under the influence of Claude in the third quarter of the century form no group by themselves, nor is their relation to their master other than a material and superficial one. No one of them, neither Viviano Codagora (whom Baldinucci goes on to mention), nor Swanevelt, nor Patel, ever acquired even the technique

¹ Claude, says Pascoli, never sued his creditors. He had more fear of *Citazioni* than of *Schioppettati* (gunshot).

of Claude in the treatment of his luminous distances, much less the poetical feeling that inspired his work. But the studio of Claude was always open to them, and there he would explain the principles that guided him in the composition of his works, the laws of that *prospettiva*, above all, of which we hear so much in the art writings of the day. This was something more than geometrical perspective, it would seem; it encroached upon what we should now call the laws of aerial perspective and of composition.

We learn from Baldinucci that in the years preceding Claude's first illness there lived with him in the Via Paolina his nephew Jean Gellée, a quiet and studious man apparently, who combined the parts of what we should now call housekeeper and private secretary. There was, too, in a humbler capacity—somewhat resembling, it would seem, that of Claude with Tassi in early days—that troublesome young fellow Domenico, who was ultimately the cause of so much annoyance and expense to Claude.

But that was not all. We now know, thanks to the researches of Lady Dilke, something of a still more important member of the household. There is much mention in the will that Claude had drawn up for him in 1663, and still more in the codicil of 1670, of a certain Agnese. She was at the former date a little girl (*zitella*) of about eleven years, brought up in his house, where at that time she was living "*per carità*." In that case Agnese must have been born in 1651 or 1652, but for how long she had been an inmate of the

house, "cheering with her childish laughter the studio and the great dignitaries of Rome that frequented it," this we do not know. That her position in the house was no menial one we shall see from the terms of Claude's will, and the fact that there is no reference to her in either of Claude's biographers is only a proof of the excessive poverty of the material upon which we are dependent for the history of our artist's life.

Agnese was still living with Claude at the time of his death. She must have been at that time about thirty years old and still unmarried. It has been pointed out that there is a certain blank in Claude's artistic life about the middle of the century; for the years 1649 and 1650 we have no record of any work done.¹ Claude, it is inferred, was otherwise occupied at this time. It must, however, be confessed that the "sober biographer" has not much material to build upon in the case of this one possible romance in Claude's life. The dry terms of a legal document are poor material with which to construct any such story. All we can say is that Agnese was in all probability the natural daughter of Claude.

It must be borne in mind that the discovery in 1881 of the will of Claude, which I now proceed to analyse, has added in no small degree to our acquaintance with the man. To this discovery we are indebted in the first place to Lady Dilke (Mrs. Mark Pattison). Lady Dilke was in that year in Rome, searching for information concern-

¹ Unless it be certain of the pictures for the King of Spain.

ing the lives and works of the French painters who passed their days in the city, concerning the great Poussin and Claude above all. In this she was assisted by Signor Bertolotti, at that period State Archivist at Rome. He it was, in the course of a search undertaken at Lady Dilke's instigation, who discovered among the archives of the Capitol the will of Claude de Lorraine (*Life of Claude*, p. 13).

This document consists in the main of three parts—the original will of 1663, the codicil of 1670, and first in position but last in date the declaration of the notary, added on the 23rd of November, 1682, immediately after Claude's death. Of this document Lady Dilke very truly says: "Each part of it has its importance for the biographer of Claude. In the details concerning his property, and in the care that he has taken to divide it among those whom he loves, we find a thousand hints that may serve us in investigating the habits of the painter, his character and his tastes. We may even find the confirmation of what Sandrart tells us of the exceptional ignorance of his friend."

The will of 1663 opens with the usual formula: "I, Claudio Gellée, son of Giovanni Gellée, of Sciamagne in Lorraine . . . recommend my soul to God, to the Holy Mother, and to all the saints of heaven. . . ."

1. "I will that my body be buried in the Church of the Sant^{ma} Trinità de' Monti, and that my executors shall spend fifty scudi upon the funeral, burial, and masses. That in the same church

they shall place a stone over my tomb with a suitable inscription; but that they shall not spend more than sixty scudi of currency."

2. "Eleven *lochi di monti*¹ of S. Bonaventura . . . which run in my name, I leave to Agnese, that she alone may enjoy the usufruct of them until such time as she may marry or become a nun. Should she take the veil, eight of these may pass to the convent that she enters, as a dowry." Of the other three *luoghi*, Agnese is to have complete disposal. In the case of her marriage, the eleven *luoghi* are settled on her under certain conditions.

3. Agnese by this clause is to have a life interest in three other *luoghi di Monti*—this time of the Monte Novenale—which after her death are to pass to Claudio Gellée, son of Melchior Gellée. "And in addition I leave to the said Agnese an upright landscape by my hand with the '*Madonna chi va in Egitto*.' Also a *Madonnina* near to my bed, a copy of Guido, and another little picture with a crucifix, and S. Bridget in a frame of pear wood. Also my bedding and the tester (*ciclo*) of the bed where I sleep and her own truckle bed (*cariola*) shall fall to her share. Also her own chest and the contents, and my own desk of ebony that lies within the little cupboard (*pezza di credenza*) in my room, and one-third of

¹ These *luoghi di Monti* we may regard as municipal or rather parochial bonds. Though liable not only to be paid off, but also at times to reduction of interest, they offered a convenient means of investment, and, for the time, a good security.

the furniture. And this I leave to her to dispose of at her will in return for the good offices that I have received at her hand."

4. "I declare that the *Libro dei disegni* that I leave to the above Agnese to be that with 137 [the reading should probably be 157¹] drawings of pictures painted on commission for various princes. This I leave to her for life, after that it shall pass to my heirs."

5. Immediately after Claude's death Agnese is to enter a convent of her own choice with the dowry as mentioned above.

6. To Jean Gellée his nephew he leaves six *luoghi di Monti*, "and a picture with gilt frame, representing the '*Ballo delle quattro nazioni*,' and the bed and bedstead in which he sleeps, and a *Madonnina*, a copy of Domenichino, which stands close to his bed, and the crucifix that stands in the lower room, and also the *forsiera* (? strong box) that stands in my room. This my executors are not to touch except as far as concerns the *luoghi di Monti* and the documents relating to my affairs. And I pray as a great favour that should he [Jean Gellée] be in Rome, the above-mentioned *forsiera* should only be opened in his presence and that of the above-mentioned Agnese. I leave him too a small cabinet, *alla sua elezione con li disegni di S. Nicolo*,² in return for the good services that he has rendered me in my house."

¹ On the 26th of February, 1663, only two days before the signing of the will, Claude notes on the back of L.V., No. 158, that at that date there were 157 drawings in the book.

² Here and in the next clause the text is obscure, and I

7. "I leave to Claudio Gellée, son of Melchior Gellée my brother, *un quadro arbore di paese fratto sopra il vale (?)* with a gold medal of Pope Innocent representing St Peter opening the Porta Santa" (a jubilee medal of 1650 probably).

8. "I leave to the venerated Church of the Trinità de' Monti a picture of the late Carlo Lorenese, a canvas without frame, the figures half life size; and also a landscape of two pieces painted in distemper (*a guazzo*) to decorate the Casa di S^{ma} Trinità when the most Holy Sacrament passes."

9. "To the venerated Church of St Nicolas¹ of the Lorraine nation, 25 scudi and a picture of Christ on his way to Emmaus, a landscape painted from nature (*dipinto dal vero*)."

10. "I leave to the venerated Church of S. Luca, in S^{ta} Martina in Rome, 10 scudi and the copy of my portrait that hangs in the *sala*."²

11. "I leave to the Em^{mo} Cardinale Rospigliosi, two drawings from among my studies in return for the good counsel that he has always given me."

do not attempt to translate. There may possibly be some reference here to the church of the Lorraine nation mentioned in clause 9. It is not unlikely that when this church (it was dedicated to S. Nicolas) was redecorated in 1636 Claude may have had a hand in the work. See note to clause 9.

¹ This little church stands near the corner of the Piazza Navona. It was rebuilt in 1636 and richly decorated by Giov. Grossi.

² That is to say, to the church connected with the Academy of St. Luke. The portrait of Claude now in the gallery of the Academy cannot be that referred to in the will; it is dated 1682. A good marine piece by the artist may also be found there.

12. "I leave to the Ill^{mo} Monsignore di Belmonte, a little picture painted on cyprus wood representing a *lavora di luna* [? *levata di luna*—moonrise] and a gilt frame a palm in width, in return for the favours that I and my people (*i miei*) have always received from him."

13. "I leave to my godson Giovanni Piomer six drawings at the choice of my executors."

14. "I leave to Catherina, daughter of Maestro Antonio Andre, tailor, my gossip (*compare*), 40 scudi."

15. This is a clause to guard against any mistake that might arise from the various ways in which the legator's name is spelled upon the certificates of the various *luoghi di Monti*—Gillet, Gillier, Gillée. "All this," he says, "is my mistake . . . the spelling in my native tongue is Gellée, seeing that this is the way that my brothers have always signed their names in writing to me."

16. "I leave to Sig^r Renato della Borna, apostolic notary, a landscape with the Angel and Hagar."

17. "I leave to Sig^r Francesco Canser a little picture with sheep in a square gilt frame."

18. By this clause Claude appoints his brothers, Denys and Melchior Gellée, residuary legatees of all his property real and personal, "in Rome, in the district, or in any other place," and should one or both be dead then their sons in place of them.

19. "I select and depute as executors of this my will and as guardians of the above-named Agnese,

the above-mentioned Renato della Borna and Francesco Canser, apostolic notaries, provided that they be alive and in Rome. And if they should be dead or not living in Rome, in this case I elect and depute the rector for the time being of the above-mentioned church of the congregation of the Lorrainers, with the usual faculties and a picture at his choice."

20. "I say and declare that the Agnese mentioned in this my present will is a little girl at present about eleven years of age according to the baptismal certificate in my possession, brought up in my house, where she lives for the present *per carità*."

(Signed) MARINUS FRANCISCUS VANNIUS,
Curie Capitoline Notarius.

We know little of the conditions under which the will of the year 1663 was made. Both in this and the previous year Claude was busy at work. We can point to several important pictures and drawings which were executed at this time. In the autumn of 1662 he was working in the Campagna at La Crescenza (see p. 53). Vannius, the notary, however, tells us in an endorsement to the will that Claude at the time of the sealing of the document was "*mala valetudine oppressus et lecto jacens timens casus futuræ suæ mortis*"—ill in bed and in urgent fear of death. Again, in the later codicil this year is referred to as a time of affliction.

I make no excuse for including in my text a literal translation of nearly the whole of this

document—it throws directly and incidentally so much light on the surroundings of the painter at a period of his life about which we are otherwise so entirely ignorant. We learn from it that, though he mixed on friendly terms with the highest dignitaries of the Church, this did not prevent him from finding a *compare*¹ in Master Antonio the tailor. There is no reason given, as in the case of the other legatees, for the bequest of 40 scudi to Catherina, the daughter of his gossip. It occurs to me that Agnese herself may not possibly have been in some way or other connected with this family.

Let us, however, now pass to the codicil of Claude's will. In the summer of 1670 he was again dangerously ill. We know by the negative evidence of the "Liber" and of his other signed works that for several years about this time he produced little. On the 25th of June a notary was again summoned; Claude was just able to sign his name to the codicil that was drawn up in the following terms:—

1. "*In primis*. In this I confirm the legacy made to Agnese, *mia zitella*, grown up and educated in my house. . . . In addition I leave to her 500 scudi in currency. I leave to her also a medal of Pope Urban, representing Monte Cavallo, a chain of gold of the value of 10 scudi, and a ring with a diamond mounted in gold."

2. "I leave to my nephew Jean Gellée a medal of gold of Pope Urban representing the Baptism

¹ Probably to be here taken in the literal sense of a "gossip," or fellow-godfather.

of Constantine and a chain and a ring with three diamonds."

3. By this clause, the fourth part of Claude's residual property (in addition to what he had already received under the will) is left to Jean Gellée his nephew, at that time living in his house.

4. "I have two gold medals of Pope Innocent, struck in the year of the Jubilee, representing St. Peter with the Keys. Let one be given to Jean Gellée and the other to Claude Gellée, son of Giov. Marie Melchior Gellée, of Chamagne."

5 and 6. By these clauses small sums of money are left to the other sons and daughters of Melchior, his brother.

7. Claude bequeaths 25 scudi to be divided among the sons and daughters of his niece Anna Gellée.

8. "I leave to my godchild, wife of Sig^r Giorgio Alardino, *Speditioniero*,¹ a Madonna, a copy of Guido Bolognese, by Signor Francesco Raguso."

9. "I desire that on the day of my death, 10 scudi be distributed among the poor as alms, and that 5 scudi be given to the women that are in my service at the time of my death."

10. "I enjoin and require that my heirs named in my will are to have fifty masses celebrated in the church of S^t Denis at Chamagne, my native place, for the good of my soul, within ten days of their hearing of my death."

(Signed) IO CLAUDIO GELLÉE,
Ho fatto questi codicilli.

¹ This may very probably have been the agent who forwarded Claude's pictures to his foreign patrons.



JUBILEE MEDAL OF INNOCENT X. ST. PETER AND THE KEYS

From an example in the British Museum

Then follows the signature of the notary Vannius.

On the 13th of February, 1682, there is a final addition to the will. Claude, still living by the Arco de' Greci, in the presence of two Flemings and a Frenchman appends a second codicil, by which a picture with a flock of sheep is left to Joseph Gellée, son of Melchior.

A few months after this the end came. In the Latin endorsement that precedes the will we are told by Vannius the notary, that at the urgent request of Jean Gellée, Joseph Gellée, and Agnese Gellée (note that the lady is now so termed in a legal document) he betook himself to the house situated "*ante arcum Gregorum*," the residence of Dominus Claudius Gellée. "Arrived at the said house, I entered and came to the apartment on the first floor, in which D. Claudius lived. In the principal room, I beheld the said Dominus Claudius Gellée dead and his corpse laid at length upon a table that stood in the said apartment."

Then, as now, little light was thrown by the terms of a will upon the amount of the property bequeathed. We know nothing as to the value of the residue left by Claude to his two brothers, the residuary legatees.¹ But we may probably accept the view of Baldinucci, who says that from what he had heard "the great artist, seeing what considerable sums he got for his pictures, might have accumulated a large fortune, yet so great was his affection for those of his own family,

¹ One at least of these brothers predeceased Claude. See below.

who were constantly in receipt of substantial aid, that he can hardly have left on his death more than 10,000 scudi.”¹

Perhaps even at that time the most valuable property that his heirs found in his house may have been “the five or six big books of drawings, besides some bundles of loose sketches” mentioned by Baldinucci; for we have evidence that during the latter part of his life the drawings of Claude, especially the elaborate designs for pictures, were much sought after. The *Liber Veritatis* itself, then only at its 157th number, was thought worthy of a special clause in the will. That it should be bequeathed to the future nun Agnese,² rather than to one of his nephews is noteworthy. Was she perhaps, if not an artist herself, yet possessed of some natural taste and able to appreciate the works of her benefactor? There is certainly nothing to show that either of Claude’s nephews had any gifts of this sort.

Claude, we learn from the will, had a few oil pictures of his own hanging on his walls. Two at least are mentioned as painted from nature, but we cannot identify either with the careful study of trees by the Villa Madama that the Rospigliosi Pope so much coveted. Perhaps this study was not yet executed at the time of the will; it is, however, just possible that the picture is referred to

¹ Say £5,000 in present value as a rough estimate, if we take the papal scudo of the seventeenth century as worth about ten shillings.

² There is, however, no evidence that she ever took the veil.

1679.

Il M^{rs} de France & France 1579
Après j'aurais recueilli son uol cette ~~et~~ ~~et~~ ~~et~~
considérer pour l'avenir ce me recommande avoir deux
frère Denis & marchand Galle et à tous ~~et~~ ~~et~~ ~~et~~
fus l'office ~~de~~ ~~de~~ ~~de~~ Claude Gille ~~et~~ ~~et~~ ~~et~~ Roma. cor. 1579

Augio, Augio. 1579
de depuis trois de ulet. 1579. mes deux neuve
dites recueilli deux autres fois, mais pour la
mes lettre d'apport. la mort de notre frere des
gelle, d'après, il na plus persons, et ce traver
in dispose, j'ay recueilli pour moi, mon meueux et luy
nous recueilli pour tous et may serz attendo
d'une son pas esout damini de notre frere
Claude Gille et luy recueilli frere

Am. uste ~~et~~ ~~et~~ ~~et~~ Claude Gille
le more marchand ~~et~~ ~~et~~ ~~et~~ le Corons

in the seventh clause, where the text is corrupt. The reference in the eighth clause to the landscape in two parts, painted in tempera, to be hung outside the *casa* of the Trinità, probably refers to the custom (still kept up in Spain) of decorating the fronts of houses with pictures, tapestry, or even carpets on the occasion of great religious processions.

There was, it would seem, in the house not a single original work of any importance by the contemporaries of Claude, unless we reckon as such the picture by his countryman, Carlo Lorenese, left to the Trinità Church. There was nothing by Claude's friends—Poussin or Du Quesnoy or Bamboccio—only copies of Guido and Domenichino, the fashionable artists of the day.

I must not pass over the *venerande Chiese*, to which pictures are left in the will. These are; first, the church close at hand, where he elected to be buried, the Trinità de' Monti; secondly, that of St. Luca, the church of the artists, closely connected with the academy of that name; and finally, S. Nicola, the church of the congregation of Lorrainers in Rome, whose rector *pro tempore* was in certain eventualities to be the guardian of Agnese. Claude, we see, never lost touch of his fellow-countrymen, some of whom may have succoured him in his early days of adversity.

On the back of a drawing by Claude, now in the Musée Teyler at Haarlem, is written in a shaky hand the draft of two letters to his brothers at Chamagne, dated 1679 and 1681. In so far as I am able to decipher this crabbed

writing, the second letter is addressed to Melchior (or Michael) alone. He says that he has just heard of the death of Denys—"il n'a plus persons . . . jay vostre Joseppe mon neveu et lui vous rescrira pour tous (? nous) et moy serey attendo d'une bon pax" (?)—he was waiting for his end.

No doubt in his old age Claude was not allowed to forget the existence of any of his relations, but after the 1670 codicil no change of importance was made in the will. Of these later times, however, we really know nothing. Claude survived all his artist friends of early days. Bamboccio, Du Quesnoy, Poussin had long passed away. Sandrart, whom he had not seen for nearly fifty years, was indeed still alive in 1682. It would be interesting to know if Claude ever saw or heard of the *opus magnum* of his old friend, the *Teutsche Academie*, published a few years before his death—probably not.

Not only in his handwriting, but in the many elaborate drawings made in his later years—there is one in the British Museum dated 1682, the year that he died—we have evidence of the shaky hand of the old artist. The *tormentosa podagra*, the racking gout, that had afflicted him for the space of forty-two years, became more and more an obstacle to work. This and "the weight of years," says Baldinucci, "had reduced him to such a condition that he was not able to work more than two or three hours a day." Yet there is more than one picture of these later days—the "Jacob and Laban" at Dulwich, for instance,

with its pearly blues and greens—that shows little sign of any decline. This Dulwich picture is undoubtedly throughout by the hand of the master. On the other hand, in certain of these later canvases we see a return to the composition, and sometimes in a measure to the handling, of quite early days. In these cases we cannot but suspect the presence of some younger hand, working under the immediate control and perhaps in conjunction with the old painter.

Claude died, it would seem, on the 21st of November, 1682. He was buried according to the terms of his will in the church of the Frati Minori—the Trinità de' Monti—that crowned the hill immediately at the back of his house. In front of the chapel of the Annunciation, a slab of white marble told of the great painter—“*qui ipsos orientis et occidentis solis radios in campatribus mirifice pingendis effinxit*”—who marvelously rendered with his brush the very rays of the rising and sinking sun. This is what his contemporaries found above all to praise in his works—the rendering of the diffused light of morning or afternoon. And this indeed remains to the present day not the least important part in Claude's claim to pre-eminence as a landscape painter.

The artist's bones, however, were not destined to lie quiet in the church of his deliberate choice. During the stormy time of the first French occupation, in 1798 probably, the tombstone disappeared. In 1836 his remains were disinterred and removed with some ceremony, not

to S. Nicola, the little church of the Lorraine nation, referred to more than once in Claude's will, but to the national French church of S. Luigi, a church with which we have no record that he was in any way connected. Here, however, close to the palaces of the Giustiniani and the Crescenzi, his earliest patrons, a new monument was erected. "La France," we are told in the inscription, "a consacré ce monument, Louis Philippe étant roi des Français," and "A. Thiers ministre de l'intérieur." A few years later a tablet was set up in the Trinità Church recording the transference of his bones.¹

¹ Of Claude's personal aspect I can find no contemporary record apart from the engraving of his head given by Sandrart. Leone Pascoli, a late writer, says of him: "He was well built and muscular, of middle stature, with square face and dark complexion. His eyes, hair, and beard were black, his forehead and nose large; he was of severe aspect, and in later life somewhat bent by weight of years and by the gout" (*Vite de' Pittori*, Rome, 1730).

CHAPTER VIII

THE ART OF CLAUDE

Claude's method of work as recorded by his contemporaries—
The criticism of Ruskin—Development of Claude's style.

“AS soon as the young painter hears the birds in the air greet the morning with song, let him with one or more art-loving friends, directly the gates of the town are opened, set forth on foot to visit the theatre of nature and seek inspiration and experience by feeding his eyes upon the rocks, the trees, and the brooks, upon the mountains and valleys, the meadows and plains. . . . Let him behold how the sombre clouds are lit by streams of brilliant red, in how beauteous a fashion the house of Eurus is hung with golden tapestry to greet the long-desired Phœbus, and how gaily the scattered clouds take on varied hues, so that not molten gold in the crucible is more dazzling. He will see, too, how the far distant mountains prepare to spread their banners to the sun, the great vault of heaven is over-spread with fair azure blue, the silver lamp of Latona is by slow degrees extinguished, and Tellus again spreads out and braids her hair and decks her green hunting robe with the liquid pearls of dew,” etc., etc.

“ Here the painter has also to observe how the distant landscape little by little passes away and loses itself in colour. . . . This shrinking away and evanescence of the far-off lands must the painter carefully and industriously note, for on the careful rendering of this effect depends the impression of distance in the background of his picture.”

These passages, in spite of the inflated and artificial style of the seventeenth century in which they are expressed, are undoubtedly written by a man who was deeply influenced by the aspects of nature. I take them from the chapter on landscape painting in the first part of the *Teutsche Academie*; in it Claude's early friend and companion, the German Sandrart, lays down the law to the young student.¹

Sandrart then proceeds to points of more practical detail. We are told, for instance, that the distance must be rendered neither by a brown nor by a uniform tint, but by delicate and *broken* colours, and that the successive planes of the middle and far distance are to be distinguished by the requisite gradations. In reading through the whole passage, it is impossible to resist the impression that the writer has the works of his old friend and associate in his mind, and this impres-

¹ In Sandrart's elaborate phrasing and quaint classical allusions there is something that is strangely reminiscent of the early poems of Milton. The English poet, we may remember, was in Italy about the same time as the German painter, and he was, even before this, deeply read in the artificial poetry of the Italian *Seicento*.

sion receives its confirmation in the sentence that follows : " By the practice of continuous drawing from nature, the student will have acquired thorough experience, and these studies will be of frequent service to him in after days. For many years this was the course that I pursued. In the meantime, however, my immediate neighbour and housemate in Rome, Claudius Gilli, otherwise called Lorraine, was ever desirous to accompany me into the country in order that we might draw together in the open. In such work my friend was by nature not favoured. He had, on the other hand, an exceptional gift for *painting* from nature [in oil *scilicet*]. So that when we had occasion to work together in the open country, at Tivoli, Frascati, Subiaco, and other places (at S. Benedetto too), instead of drawing with black chalk or tinting with the brush (*anstatt des zeichens oder tunschens mit schwarzer kreide und dem pinsel*), we painted on prepared paper, or on canvas straightway from nature—the mountains, grottoes, valleys, and desert places, the fearful cascades of the Tyber, or the Temple of the Sibyl. In my opinion this is the best manner to impress the truth upon the mind, seeing that thereby body and soul are made to work together. In the case of drawing, no such complete rendering is possible, inasmuch as the true aspect of things is not to be thus reproduced. This Claudius, indeed, slowly enough it is true, arrived at length at such perfection in landscape painting, both in composition and in colouring, that he surpassed all his contemporaries and became a model to them."

We have here a perfectly definite statement from a contemporary of Claude and a fellow-workman. Sandrart returns to the point in his biography of the artist, where, however, in an often-quoted passage, he appears to claim that it was *from him* that Claude first learnt to paint in the open from nature. Yet, in either case, there is much difficulty in accepting what Sandrart tells us. Certainly such a statement as this—that Claude was not by nature gifted with much ability in drawing in the open with chalk, pen, or wash—is rather surprising in view of the marvellous series of drawings, dating from all stages of his career, in black chalk, in pen outline, and in wash, spontaneous renderings, in many cases at least, of effects beheld, that have come down to us. While as for these oil studies from nature—they are mentioned, too, by Baldinucci, and more than one of them are referred to in his will—we cannot point to a single surviving example. Are we to understand that they were subsequently worked up into pictures by Claude himself or by his successors? Some of these oil sketches, Sandrart tells us, were upon *gegründt papier*. I wonder whether this was a kind of millboard.

Nothing is more common in the pictures and drawings of Claude than the introduction in the foreground of an artist sketching. He is generally seated on a bank by the roadside, drawing on a loose sheet of paper, in most primitive wise. On the other hand, if we turn again to the *Teutsche Academie*, in a carefully executed etching of the Roman Forum, which forms the tail-

piece to this very chapter of Sandrart's on landscape painting from which we have just quoted, in this etching, I say, an artist is seen at work in a prominent position in the foreground. He is, indeed, crouching on the ground, but he holds in his left hand a palette and brushes, and before him his canvas stands upon a low easel.¹ This plate is, no doubt, placed here to illustrate the remarks in the text. While on this point, we may mention what Mariette says of Claude's contemporary, Gaspar Poussin: "A little donkey was his sole attendant, and served to carry his painting apparatus, his provisions, and a tent, in which he could paint in shade and protected from the wind."

Baldinucci gives us little assistance on these technical points. At the end, however, of his life of Claude is a difficult passage, to which a wide berth has been given by our modern biographers. Baldinucci has been telling how willing Claude was in his later days to communicate to the group of young artists around him his methods of *prospettiva*, in which he was "*oltremodo intendente e pratico*." We may note that the word *prospettiva* is here used as nearly equivalent to our *perspective*, although at other times the term seems to include a good deal more. "And since

¹ This etching is printed upon the same paper as the text. It is in part—the bull-baiting group in the middle distance, for instance—identical with the early etching of Claude of the Forum. The figures in the foreground are, however, quite different in Sandrart's rendering, and the view is, in this case, not reversed.

we are speaking of *prospettiva*," continues Baldinucci, "I am unwilling to pass over some points concerning the way in which he applied it in his landscapes. He placed his eye where it seemed good; but he was wont to divide the height of his picture into five parts, of which two were inferior to the horizontal line, or, I should say, that of the visual rays. Then placing the eye on this line, he took a thread, and placing one end at the eye, he rotated it in a circle upon the picture, including in this circle the whole of the said picture. Then he placed his distance upon that spot where the line traversed the circle. He adopted the same method in drawing views from nature, and the line in question played so important a part in his works, that with the Flemings he got the name of *Orrizonte*." I give a literal translation of this curious passage, but I must confess that I am unable to offer a satisfactory explanation of it. It would, however, not be right to omit any statement about Claude's method of work written by one who claims to have visited the painter in his studio.¹

It has been my aim in this and in some earlier quotations to bring together whatever can be

¹ There are among the drawings of Claude several (designs for pictures for the most part) in which the paper is traversed by a pair of diagonal lines; a horizontal line passes through the point of intersection of these lines, dividing the surface into two equal parts. Exactly one-tenth of the total height of the drawing below this horizontal line the horizon is traced. The latter, it will be seen, is thus placed in the position indicated by Baldinucci.



SKETCH IN THE CAMPAGNA
Pen and bistre wash, British Museum

found in the writers of his day that may throw any light upon the grounds of the high esteem in which the work of Claude was regarded by his contemporaries. It will be interesting to compare this contemporary judgment upon the points in which Claude excelled with some modern estimates of the artist's gifts.

Let us take a few such estimates of the work and character of Claude from the many criticisms of the artist that are scattered through the five volumes of *Modern Painters*. We could have no better counsel for the prosecution, if Claude is to be put up to judgment. Ruskin confesses in one passage to a prejudice against the master. How this arose we shall better understand when we come to speak of Claude's relation to Turner. Serious errors in perspective are found in the two famous sea-pieces in the National Gallery (vol. i. p. 403). The foliage of Claude is ridiculed (vol. i. p. 394), and, above all, the faulty drawing of the trunks and branches of his trees is made the ground of a carefully elaborated attack in more than one instance (vol. i. p. 384; vol. iii. p. 341).¹ And then the stupidity of the man, his seventeenth-century moral obliquity, his blundering pseudo-

¹ This is a question of tree anatomy, and as in the case of the human anatomy in the early Italian painters or among the Japanese, the accuracy that we now expect to find was not looked for by the public at the time, and would have been lost upon them. Ruskin, we may note, in this and other cases takes his illustrations of Claude's iniquities from Earlom's version of the "Liber." This is hardly fair to the artist.

classical, pseudo-picturesque mind, and his total want of imagination, all these are dwelt upon in more than one eloquent passage.

Again, we find such passing attacks as this: "The mourning and murky olive-browns and verdigris-greens in which Claude . . . drags the laborious bramble leaves over his childish foreground" (vol. i. p. 157). This last reproach we may accept without any reservation. But Claude's foregrounds are for the most part so darkened that all the elaborate inanities with which they are filled are now, more often than not, lost in gloom. They are not aggressive, and there is no need to pry into the darkness to discover the incongruous figures, or the ill-drawn cattle or goats, over which Claude took such pains.

With this passage we might end our quotations from this *advocatus diaboli*. Enough has been given to accentuate the curious contrast between Ruskin's judgment and the contemporary estimation of our master. At the same time, these quotations give an apt expression to certain undeniable deficiencies and weaknesses in Claude's work. One statement, however, there is in the *Modern Painters* which cannot be passed over so lightly: "Claude's pictures, when examined with reference to essential truth, are one mass of error from beginning to end." "When examined with reference to essential truth"—what does this mean? Apart from all sophistry and *a priori* criticism, what are we to understand by "essential truth" in a picture if it is something apart



STUDY FOR PICTURE

Sketch in pen and sepia wash. Dated 1860. British Museum

from winning beauty and subtle charm? And here it is that the work of Claude (at its best and not ruined by change) claims its superlative position. It is some such charm, which we shall not attempt to analyse, that in a gallery full of the works of great masters of many schools, leads us back at the last, in the few precious moments before leaving, to the tame, dull green picture in the corner. Here is no skill of brush, no glorious display of colour; a large part of the picture may be so dark as to be barely decipherable. But the painter has managed somehow—by the grouping of the great trees against the clear sky, still more by the silvery lights in the far retreating distances—to establish a link between his soul and ours, and is not the power to do this the very supreme victory of art? I could point to perhaps a dozen pictures of Claude possessed of this magic influence. By those who have felt it, all attacks upon the details of his work are brushed aside as beside the mark. What matter if his pictures are “a mass of error from beginning to end,” if only a few among them are capable of exercising this fascination!

We might here enter upon a discussion as to the essential grounds upon which we are to estimate the value of a work of art—what, in fact, distinguishes a work of art as such from other produce of human hands. Such inquiries, more or less tentative, have indeed tempted aside more than one writer of artistic biographies in these latter days. Avoiding, however, any such

general discussion, I will confine myself to pointing out that we have in Claude what a medical man would call an "interesting case." He belongs, few would deny, in an eminent degree to the species "artist," and yet he is wanting in so many of what are generally held to be the essential specific *differentiæ*. Compare him with his great contemporaries, Velasquez and Rembrandt. How glaring his deficiencies! But have we not here just one of those anomalous cases that are so useful in testing the accuracy and efficiency of definitions, scientific or æsthetic?

Perhaps some who have come to definite conclusions of their own on such æsthetic problems may be inclined to deny that this penetrating charm that is diffused by the best works of Claude is properly to be reckoned as an artistic quality, that it has anything to do with pictorial art as such. It belongs, they would say, to the realm of poetry, to the borderland of literature. The man did not know how to paint, how to use his tools! He had but a restricted power of composition, he repeated himself! Such deficiencies are enough to exclude him from the company at least of great creative artists.

But, at any rate, these very deficiencies add not a little to the interest of the "case." And here, once and for all putting aside these wider artistic problems, I must dwell for a moment upon one aspect of this case, and, indeed, shall have to confine myself to this aspect, and this is the question of the development—if development there was—of Claude's artistic gifts. We are concerned

with an artist who for nearly half a century continued to play with greater or less skill upon a one-stringed instrument, giving forth from time to time the most entrancing notes. For although during a period of forty years and more Claude was producing at intervals works of superlative merit, yet towards the end of his long career he was content to turn out pictures that, apart from extrinsic evidence, it is often difficult to distinguish from those produced a full generation earlier.

This it is that makes the artistic side of the biography of Claude almost a blank. We have seen how, in examining critically the works of the master, his deficiencies "jumped into one's eyes," while the more essential part that gives the charm to his pictures—that spirit of suavity and serenity that is diffused by them—defied analysis. But at all events we might fall back upon the task of recording the changes that took place in his style and of working out the development of his genius. What a disappointment awaits us here! In the case of Turner, whose period of artistic production was little longer than that of Claude, every step in his career can be followed in his works. In his case a very short experience will enable one to date a picture or a drawing within a margin of some five or six years, often of much less. But if we turn to Claude, it is not long before we discover that the first thirty years of his life—we may almost say the first forty—are a blank as far as any work known to us is concerned. Compare with this the rich and

intricate developments of Turner's style before, let us say, the year 1810, when the artist was thirty-five.

Not but that, from a few rare drawings and etchings above all, we may get hints of an early manner even in the case of Claude, and between the years 1640 and 1660 a certain development may be followed out in his dated oil pictures. The traces of the influence of the Flemish painters, on whose traditions Claude founded himself, the somewhat northern aspect of the foliage, the realistic character of the figures introduced, at times, in the early pictures—peasants dancing or trafficking their goods—all these features are replaced in later works by an essentially southern landscape and by classical and biblical personages.

It was, perhaps, between the years 1650 and 1665 that Claude produced most of those masterpieces that still fascinate in spite of darkened foregrounds and coats of varnish more or less skilfully removed. But after the latter date his artistic development ends. During the remaining years of his life he produced, indeed, at times works of great beauty, but on the whole during the latter part of his career he appears to have been content with turning out what are, as far as composition and even general treatment go, mere reproductions of earlier pictures. Working in this way, overwhelmed as he was by orders and hampered by repeated attacks of gout, it is no wonder if many of the canvases that came at this time from his studio were wanting in the higher qualities of his art.



JACOB AND LABAN
Dutwich Gallery

In this chapter I have been chiefly concerned with Claude's pictures ; of the development to be traced in his drawings and etchings something has already been said, and I hope to return to the subject in a later chapter.

CHAPTER IX

CLAUDE'S PREDECESSORS

The landscape art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—The relations of Claude to his predecessors and contemporaries.

I HAVE pointed out that the earlier works of Claude show unmistakably the influence of the northern, more definitely of the Flemish, painters with whom he was associated at the outset of his career.

To make this clear it will be well to turn for a moment to consider very briefly the relation of Claude to his predecessors—to trace, in fact, the artistic genealogy of the master.

Here, be it remembered, we part company with Claude as the sensitive artist who possessed the secret of focussing upon his canvas the romantic atmosphere that he found in certain aspects of nature ; such a gift belongs to no special time or locality. We are now concerned to place him in his right artistic position, and to show how his work fits into the history of landscape painting in Europe.

This is indeed a history that remains still to be written—written, that is, from a purely objective and what we may call empirical point of view, uninfluenced by the art outlook of the later nine-

teenth century and unbiassed by latter-day preconceptions as to what is precious and what is trifling and valueless in landscape art. For as in other histories, so in that of landscape painting, there are long and dreary periods which, none the less, form important links in the historic development.

One main result of such a history would, I think, be to show that the initiative in landscape art and the prevailing influence has always come from the North. In a material aspect this has certainly been the case, but the spirit also has been a northern one in more cases than is generally acknowledged.

The early stages must here be passed over. We first come upon a fully developed landscape in the illuminated manuscripts of the fifteenth century. Already indeed, before the end of the previous century, among the brilliant group of painters who decorated that wonderful series of books of hours for the Duke of Berry and the other brothers of the French King, Charles V., we find a complete mastery of the problem of rendering in the minutest details the scenes of daily life both within and without the tall walls of the mediæval towns. I do not think that any parallel to this work can be found in the contemporary missals of the Italians—here the figure as a rule holds the prominent place. In the North there was on the whole, during the course of the fifteenth century, a continuous advance in the relative importance of the landscape element both in the works of the miniature painters and of

those who painted on a larger scale on panels of wood.

At a somewhat later date this northern school had its centre, perhaps, among the painters who worked for the art-loving Dukes of Burgundy, above all for Philip the Good. But its influence extended from the valley of the Loire, through Picardy and the Netherlands to the Middle Rhine, and then far south to Franconia and Swabia. It would, no doubt, be possible in the case of each of these districts to trace out a continuous development in the treatment of the landscape backgrounds on the panels that decorated the altars of the churches. To this nothing quite parallel could be found in Italy. More than this, it will be noticed, as the fifteenth century draws to a close, that in the backgrounds of many an Italian painter a northern element is at times to be recognised. The pointed spire, the wooden-framed houses, the scattered groups of bushy trees among grassy slopes that we find at times in the works of even the Tuscan painters, still more in those of the Northern Italians, tell a tale of borrowing that is in itself a confession that the "Fiaminghi" and the "Todeschi" were acknowledged to be ahead in the treatment of landscape. Again, it should not be overlooked that towards the end of the century the Italian artists found materials for their backgrounds ready at hand in the German and Flemish engravings that were beginning to have a ready sale south of the Alps.¹

¹ I am only too conscious that I am committing myself here to a most generalised, not to say crude, treatment of a

This northern landscape of the fifteenth century was in its way complete—houses, fields, rivers, distant horizons, and skies with fleecy clouds were treated with a thorough technical mastery. The spirit was generally what may be called a narrative one, the main object being to carry out and supplement the story told by the principal figures. But this was subject to the condition that such incidents must in no way interfere with the general impression of cheerfulness and brilliancy, and that even when the main incident was of a tragic nature.

But seldom was there any effort to indicate the season or the varied phases of the weather; it was a perpetual spring or early summer. In the rare examples where an attempt is made to render atmospheric effects we are at once struck by the strangely modern air that the picture takes on.

So far had the northern painters advanced in the treatment of landscape when, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a great wave of southern influence came to upset all their old ideas and methods of work. It was during the period of confusion that ensued that the general scheme of what we may call the late renaissance landscape was evolved, a scheme that prevailed to the end of the eighteenth century, and even later in places. The most important change was this—the elements of the landscape, rocks, mountains, and trees, were now for the first time employed as

subject concerning which a vast wealth of material has lately accumulated. But I cannot block my way with apt illustrations and “exceptions to be excepted.”

main elements in the general composition—the lines of the landscape became the principal lines of the picture.

This change may be well followed in the works of Joachim Patinir, whom Dürer met at Antwerp in 1521, and mentions as “a good landscape painter”—one of the earliest recognitions of landscape painting as a separate branch of the profession. The style of Patinir’s landscapes passed through at least three distinct phases, corresponding to the rapid changes that we find in all the painters that bridge over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. His pictures and those of his pupil and imitator, Herri met de Bles (known in the South as Civetta), are to be found in nearly all the galleries of Europe—in Italy, in Spain, in Germany above all. In many cases Patinir painted landscape backgrounds to the works of other artists; in others the figures introduced are little more than what the Germans call *staffage*.

Let us take Patinir’s little picture of the Crucifixion, No. 715 in the National Gallery, as a fair average example of the landscape art in the Netherlands at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Here we have already the elements of the Claudian landscape—the castle on the craggy heights to the left, the central group of graceful trees—not very prominent in this case—and to the right the view opening out to a wide champaign and a distant horizon. The clouds, too, form an element in the composition, but there is no trace of any sentiment in the landscape, nor

anything in it to reflect the tragedy enacted in the foreground.

But it may be asked, What have we to say of the fair scenes lit by a tender twilight glow, in which the painters of the Umbrian and the North Italian schools loved to place their saints and madonnas? The Umbrians, above all, by the end of the fifteenth century had developed a type of peaceful landscape of surpassing beauty for the backgrounds of their altar-pieces. But it is not too much to affirm that this type, tending, indeed, in *Lo Spagna* and in the later works of Perugino to a certain insipidity, was completely thrown aside by the painters of the next generation; it had little or no influence on later times.

Indeed, the succeeding phase of the Renaissance was fatal to landscape art in Central Italy. Michel Angelo and his followers systematically suppressed all rendering of landscape other than that of a purely schematic and conventional kind. Its place was taken in a measure by architecture, where simple lines and severely grouped masses formed a sufficient background to the classically conceived figures. Before the middle of the century, therefore, landscape art, which had never attained in Italy the position it held in the North—having been always strictly subordinate to the principal figures—fell into disrepute. While in Northern Europe during the same period it was, indeed, practised by a large number of inferior painters, but not a single man of any genius or originality arose to lift the art above the general low level of the time.

The history, then, of landscape painting is no continuous series of advances, nor are the most brilliant results to be always found in what we may regard as the main line of advance. To the check that the art received in Italy in the sixteenth century there was one notable exception. I refer, of course, to the Venetian lands, where, on the glorious canvases of the sixteenth century, landscape plays so important a part.¹ But I think that the high esteem in which the Venetian landscape is now universally held has led some recent writers on art to exaggerate its immediate influence upon other countries, above all upon the Roman artists of the following century.

The great school of colour, apart from some cases of intentional imitation of the older work, was extinct in Venice itself by the middle of the seventeenth century. The tradition was carried over to England by Vandyke, but even here, where colour has always been appreciated, it had died out before the eighteenth century began. By that time it was only by some not very distinguished painters of the Antwerp school, by such men as Cornelis Huysmans and François Millet (a Northern Frenchman), that the colour if not the general scheme of the Venetian landscape was taken as a standard.

¹ It would, perhaps, be possible to show by a comparison of dates that the northern painters had no inconsiderable influence on the landscapes of the Venetian school—on the material elements of this landscape, I mean, not on the spirit. I will only in passing refer to the Grimani missal and to what Morelli's *Anonimo* says of the works of the Haarlem painters at Venice.

In the rest of Italy, in France, and in Holland, the great Venetian painters had, on the whole, but little influence during the seventeenth century. The Carracci and their followers had, indeed, proclaimed their obligations to the Venetians as far as their landscape is concerned; but their indebtedness is seen in their treatment of foliage and their *accidentés* backgrounds rather than in their colouring. But it is, perhaps, more to the painters of the later generation—to Tintoretto and to the Bassanos, than to Titian himself—that they turned.¹ All glow of colour has been lost—is, indeed, discredited—and how little feeling these eclectic painters had for centralised composition in their landscapes may be seen in the two not unfavourable examples of Annibale Carracci, in the National Gallery (Nos. 56 and 63).² In spite of occasional exceptions, the Bolognese painters were, on the whole, in this matter of landscape group-

¹ What I may call the typical scheme of lighting of the Titianesque landscape was continued rather by Veronese. I have no space to develop this point here. I can only note that the far-reaching distances of the northern painters were here replaced by a "wall" of sunlit sky and white cloud. This scheme was strictly a produce of the Lagoons. On the other hand, in many of the later Venetian artists the northern treatment of landscape with far-retreating distance again asserts itself towards the end of the century.

² In these works there is rather an attempt to imitate the landscape of antiquity. When Annibale is painting more directly under Venetian influence—as in the beautiful lunette landscapes in the Doria Gallery—we find a happier grouping and a lighter scheme of colouring. In such pictures there is much in the handling to call to mind Gaspar Poussin, but little in common with the work of Claude.

ing and colour not on a level with the best of the contemporary Flemings. As for the strictly Roman artists, it would seem that the bold use of positive colour had at all times been uncongenial to them.

But I am not now concerned with a general history of landscape painting. I am only endeavouring to indicate in the most general way the line of the artistic genealogy of Claude. It is indeed true that this line of tradition is not an unimportant one in any wider treatment of the subject.

We must now return again to the North. At Antwerp during the latter half of the sixteenth century quite a troop of landscape painters were busy turning out little panels with mountain landscapes, vistas of rivers and hills—founded for the most part on the scenery of the Rhine—above all, wooded scenes. These men may be regarded as direct descendants of the Netherlandish painters of the fifteenth century; the connecting link is to be found in such artists as Patinir and Herri met de Bles. The most distinguished representative of this somewhat uninteresting school was, perhaps, the Antwerp painter, Gillis van Koningsloo, whose fresh forest scenes may be found in many German galleries. Quite a number of these landscape painters came from Malines. I will only note the various members of the Valckenburgh family. They painted little views of deep river valleys, forest and mountain scenery, enlivened by miners and woodcutters at work. Pictures of this class may be found in Italian galleries—in

some of the back rooms of the Uffizi, for instance; they found evident favour with the princely collectors of the day. It is at Vienna, however, that the school as a whole is now best to be studied.

Closely allied to this school are "Sammet" Breughel and his imitators, as well as Tobias Verhaeght, now chiefly remembered as having been for a moment the master of Rubens. These are, indeed, for the most part obscure names, but they are of some importance to us, for these men take their place in the direct line of artistic descent that leads to Claude Lorraine.

Even of less interest nowadays are the German painters of the later sixteenth century, yet among them are some names which we must not pass over. Johann Rottenhammer, of Munich (1564-1623), besides the large copies of Venetian masters for which he is best known, acquired a widespread reputation for his minute, daintily painted mythological scenes. (There is a good example in the National Gallery, No. 659.) In the landscapes that form so important a part in these little works there is not much that is Venetian in character. They are more in the style of Adam Elsheimer and Paul Brill.

These last two names bring us down to the very threshold of Claude's early work. Adam Elsheimer (1578-1621) is one of those painters who, by force of character and personal charm, have perhaps had more influence than by the actual work produced by them. Rubens was an enthusiastic admirer of his little pictures; he bought many

of Elsheimer's works, and helped him when in distress. Sandrart speaks of him in relation to Claude as "a true Adam, a forerunner." His influence on the early landscape of Rembrandt I have already mentioned (see p. 22). In fact, this short-lived artist, who produced so little, holds quite a unique place in the history of landscape art; he stands at the parting of the ways.

Even more important to us is Paul Brill (1554-1626), the Antwerp painter, who passed more than forty years of his life in Rome. It was he, more than anyone else, who helped to form Claude's early style. The two artists may very likely have met in Tassi's studio, though of this there is no actual record. Brill had been employed by a succession of popes—from Gregory XIII. to Paul V.—to paint landscapes upon the walls of the Vatican. Baglione tells us that by the time of the latter Pope he had modernised his Flemish manner, after seeing the landscapes of Titian and the Carracci. This is an important statement; we can from it form some idea of the very circuitous route by which the influence of the Venetians was brought to bear upon Claude. He turned, says Baglione, "*al naturale ed alla buona maniera Italiana*" (note the use of the word *naturale* in this case). Later in life, he continues, Brill made many little highly finished pictures on copper for the Flemish merchants. In addition to his work in the Vatican he painted on the walls of the Lateran, of Sta. Cecilia, and of Sta. Maria Maggiore. On the walls of the great "Aurora" room in the Palazzo Rospigliosi some of his landscapes

may still be seen. In the works of Paul Brill the Claudesque scheme of composition is already to be found, but, at any rate, in his earlier works the cold, juicy green of his trees, and a habit of introducing birds and animals in incongruous positions, point to his Flemish origin.¹

Of Rubens I say nothing. His early landscape backgrounds and those of his assistant, Van Uden, run parallel to the work of Brill. His glorious later landscapes have more in common with Claude Monet than with Claude Lorraine. What I mean by this is nowhere better exemplified than in the small panel (No. 157) in the National Gallery.

At the time, then, when Claude was serving his hard apprenticeship in the studio of Tassi, Paul Brill and Adam Elsheimer were among the most important members of the colony of northern artists settled in Rome. Tassi, it is stated, was a pupil of Brill; but from what we know of the work of the Italian—little, indeed, has survived—it can hardly have been from him that Claude borrowed the composition of the classical landscape. On the other hand, the harbour scenes which Claude turned out, with little change of conception from his earliest days to the end of his career, were undoubtedly derived from Tassi. Claude, as we have seen, was during his whole life thrown together with members of the northern colony—with Flemings like Bamboccio, Jan

¹ Perhaps the only characteristic example of Brill to be found in English galleries is a somewhat damaged but well-composed landscape at Hampton Court.

Miel, and Du Quesnoy ; to a less degree with Germans, with Lorrainers, and with Northern Frenchmen. But I cannot find that any of these men exercised any definite influence upon his work.

Indeed, during the years that Claude was developing his style—say from 1625 to 1635—it is impossible to point to any contemporary artist who played an immediate and important part in this development ; nor does Sandrart, our only witness for this period, give any hint of such assistance, unless we are to regard the German artist himself as something more than a sketching companion.

Still less was Claude influenced in any way by his great landscape contemporaries. Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), though somewhat older than Claude, did not give much attention to landscape till quite late in life. Gaspar Dughet, Poussin's brother-in-law, was the junior of Claude by many years and a man of entirely different temperament. Salvator Rosa did not settle in Rome till 1638. Poussin doubtless made his influence felt upon the two last painters ; it was he who preached the doctrine of the simple palette and of stern resistance to the allurements of the Venetian colouring. They all delighted in greyish greens and greyish browns.

If the foreigners (for Salvator was almost as much a foreigner at Rome as the Poussins) restrained themselves to their cool greys and greens, with the native Roman landscape painters of the time the tendency was towards blackness. Some of these men, if we knew more about them,

might very probably be brought into relation with Claude, both as influencing the master and still more as being influenced by him. I will only mention one of them, Viviano Codagora, a painter of some importance in his day. He is, no doubt, the Viviani *delle prospettive*, à *propos* of whom Baldinucci gives the account of Claude's method of laying out his pictures that we have quoted on page 114. There is a huge, dark canvas by this Roman artist at Hampton Court. Like Claude, but in a gloomier spirit, he sought to convey the sentiment called up by the contrast of classical ruins, telling of a glorious past, with the quiet pastoral life of the day. In the landscape at Hampton Court it is interesting to find that the figures, here of some importance, are attributed to Jan Miel, the principal collaborator with Claude in his earlier works.

CHAPTER X

CLAUDE'S TECHNIQUE

The technique of Claude's pictures—The figures, by whom painted—The influence of Claude upon his contemporaries and successors—Turner as an imitator of Claude.

OF Claude's method of work, of the manner in which he applied the paint to his canvases, there is little to be said. It can hardly have been while working with Tassi that he learnt the technique of oil painting as handed down by the sixteenth-century masters. These laborious processes, in which glazing plays so important a part, were poles apart from the summary methods of fresco and tempera. In the skies of Claude's pictures the utmost *finesse* is shown in the use of these repeated glazings. The real point of interest, however, in the work of the master is to be found in the handling of the paint in the distances of his pictures. Not, indeed, in the ultimate distances, the bounding ranges of mountains—of these the flat tints form practically part of the sky—but the delicate gradations, the impression of almost infinite recession of plane beyond plane, this, the marvel of successive generations from the days of old Sandrart, Claude got in great measure by a process of scumbling of opaque

paint, almost white, but tinted by delicate shades of turquoise-blue and pearly green, over a somewhat darker ground. This pale-coloured, broken pigment is carried in long lines in the case of a distant sea or plain, but on the wooded hillsides nearer at hand the paint is laid on in dots or small patches, with somewhat greater depth of tint. The point to be noted is that this layer of opaque paint is always broken; on this depends the general luminosity (cf. p. 110).

It is remarkable how well this part of Claude's pictures has stood the test of time. Turner, probably in emulation of the older painter, employed at times a similar process in the rendering of distant hills. But the secrets of the old masters were lost, or, at any rate, neglected by him; with the result that we may see in that beautiful wreck, the "Apollo and the Sibyl," in the National Gallery.

There is certainly nothing to be learnt from the handling of the paint in Claude's foregrounds. Here he was, above all, handicapped by the problems of lighting, and had to pay the penalty for placing the afternoon sun in the centre of his picture. This arrangement it was, above all, that involved him in the difficult problem of bringing into prominence, without hopeless departure from truth, the figures that told the story of the picture. In the works of the Venetian painters, where we face the evening sky, the figures are bathed in a warm light, reflected we may imagine from great masses of white cloud in the eastern heaven. But the atmospheric conditions and the

position of the source of light affected by Claude make any such illumination an impossibility.

How far are we to regard the figures which at times play so important a part in the composition as from the hand of Claude himself? Upon the whole, I am inclined to think that the assistance that he received from various contemporary figure painters has been much exaggerated. Claude took immense pains to acquire the requisite skill in the rendering of the human figure. We find among his landscape sketches, often upon the same sheet and executed in the same material, careful studies of figures that may often be identified with those that occur in his pictures. Such studies are undoubtedly by his own hand.

Some anecdotes told of Claude point in the same direction. Thus his often-quoted *boutade* that "he sold his landscapes but gave away the figures," and, again, the story that he could by no means fall in with the suggestion of Sir Peter Lely that in the picture that he painted for him the purchaser should be allowed to put in the figures himself; these and similar tales point, I maintain, to a personal interest in the figures introduced into his pictures, a sort of half-humorous acceptance of their deficiencies, inconsistent with their being the work of other hands.

Against this, on the other hand, we have the distinct statement of Baldinucci that Claude, "*per una certa su natural bontà e continenza*," was perfectly willing that the figures in his landscapes and marines should be added by other artists, and that this was in most cases done by Filippo Lauri,

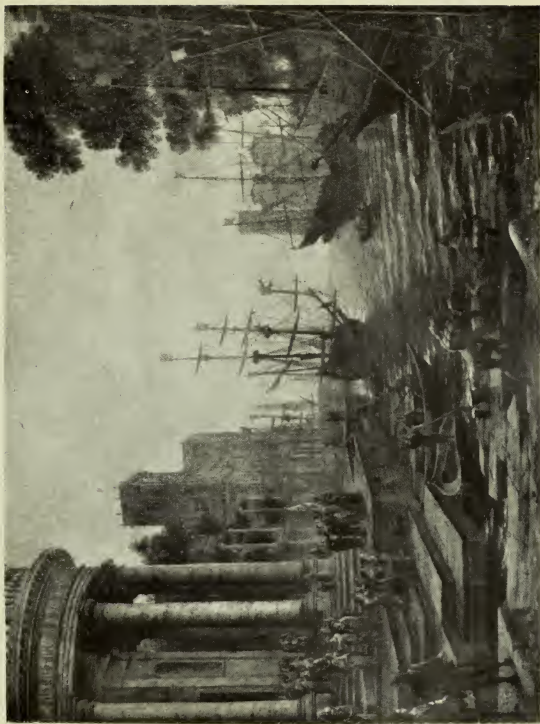
who had gained some celebrity in Rome for his talent in work of this kind. Lauri's hand may be traced in not a few of the little groups that provide a title to Claude's later pictures ; by him, there is little doubt, are the graceful little compositions of the Virgin and Child, somewhat in the manner of Albano, that we see in the corner of more than one picture entitled "*Riposo*," or "Flight into Egypt." The date, however, of Lauri's birth (1623) is against the attribution to him of the figures in the earlier works of Claude.

The name most associated with the figures in Claude's earlier pictures is that of Jan Miel, an Antwerp painter of about the same age as Claude. We know that the two worked from the same models in the studio of Sacchi, and the figures in his rustic scenes—there are pictures by Miel at Hampton Court and at Dulwich—resemble in a measure those in Claude's earlier works. But poor "Jamieli," as the Italians called him, was soon called away to Turin to paint large mythological and allegorical canvases for Carl Emmanuel, a hard fate for a painter of "Bambocciate," for Miel may be regarded as more or less a pupil of Pieter de Laer, Claude's often-mentioned friend.

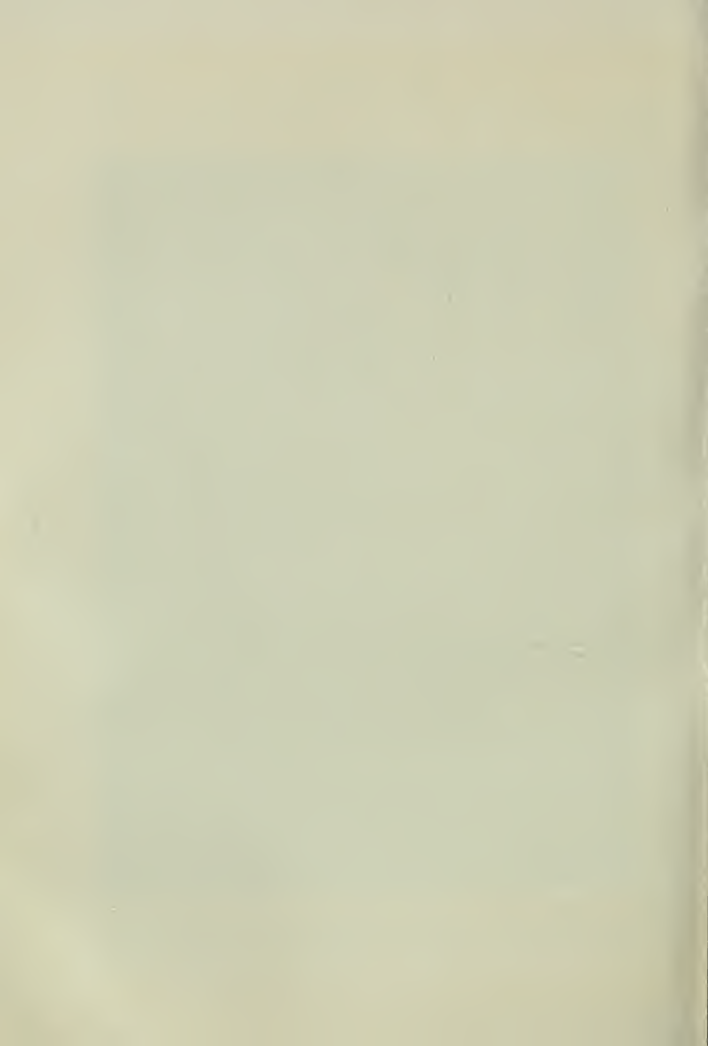
Of other names of figure painters, referred to as collaborators in Claude's pictures by later writers—Colombel (but he was born as late as 1646), Courtois (probably Guillaume, the younger brother of the better-known Jacques), and a certain Angeluccio—nothing definite can be said.

We are quite unable to connect any one of these men with what are perhaps the most important and satisfactory groups of figures to be found among Claude's pictures—I mean those in the foregrounds of the "Cave of Adullam" and of the "St. Ursula," both in the National Gallery. There is every likelihood that these figures were painted by Claude himself.

In spite of the repeated glazings and over-paintings that formed so important a part in the building up of his works, Claude's pictures when fairly treated have suffered little change. At the most a certain blackening of the foreground and of the tree masses may have come about in certain cases. But unfortunately, at one period early in the eighteenth century, a taste arose for a more vigorous and lively treatment of landscape. The owners of Claude's canvases found them too cold and wanting in brilliance; so an attempt was made to enliven them at times by repainting, but still more by the application of thick coats of varnish. This varnish having turned dark and brown at a later date has had to be removed, with a greater or less success. At times it now hangs in long dark streaks upon the surface of the picture, or still worse all the delicate glazings of the sky and distance have come away along with it. Damp and neglect have reduced other canvases of Claude—perhaps more than one masterpiece—to mere wrecks, in which the general scheme of composition, but little else, can be traced. This is one reason why although the number of works undoubtedly by



EMBARCATION OF ST. URSULA
National Gallery



Claude in public galleries and private collections may be reckoned by the hundred, yet his present reputation rests upon the charm of but a comparatively small number of pictures.

That Claude, once his reputation established, had many imitators, fraudulent imitators in some cases, we know from the account that Baldinucci gives of the origin of the *Liber Veritatis*. As early as 1634, Sébastien Bourdon, then a mere lad, gained some notoriety, it is said, by passing off a picture by his own hand as a work by Claude. But it is impossible to point to a single artist who can be definitely claimed as a pupil of our master. Perhaps the nearest approach to this is to be found in the case of Swanevelt (1620-1690), who passed the greater part of his career in Rome in close community with Claude. Swanevelt, however, came to Rome as an already formed painter. He was more distinctly a colourist than Claude, indeed for my part I can find little in common in the two. Swanevelt, like Claude and Poussin also, loved to wander in solitude through the Campagna, and hence among the Italians he got the nickname of "the hermit." He must not be judged by the tea-tray-like performances that pass under his name in many English galleries.

More directly imitators of Claude were the two Patels, father and son. Patel, *le père*, came from Picardy, and made some reputation by decorating the walls of many of the new *hôtels* in Paris with landscapes. Some of his work may still be seen in the Hôtel Lambert on the Isle St. Louis. To

his son must be accredited the four little landscapes of the seasons now in the Louvre—they are dated 1699 and are palpably but tame imitations of Claude. In fact it is not unlikely that one or the other of these Patels may be held responsible for not a few pictures in English and other galleries, Claude-like in composition, but wanting in distinction and in delicacy of execution. At a later time in France, the general scheme of the harbour scenes of Claude was made the basis of an elaborate series of views of Mediterranean ports by Claude Joseph Vernet. Of these we have an important example in the National Gallery (No. 1,393).

It is often said that the influence of Claude upon landscape art was on the whole an unfavourable one. But we can hardly hold him responsible for the depressed condition of this branch of painting during the thirty or forty years that succeeded his death. This was indeed a period which for dearth of great painters has no parallel in the history of modern art. On the French and Italian landscape painters of the first and second quarters of the eighteenth century, on Lancret and Watteau, on Canaletti and Guardi, Claude had absolutely no influence. Later, in England, it was the two Poussins and Salvator rather than Claude who were responsible for the "brown tree" of Louthembourg and Sir George Beaumont. For the rest our landscape painters of the eighteenth century found their inspiration, now in the Dutch artists of the preceding age, now in the Venetians. Claude had, no doubt, some

influence on the composition of Wilson, but in their manner of painting the two men were poles asunder.¹

It was not until the early years of the nineteenth century that Claude became a really prominent figure in England. His pictures had been literally pouring into the country, from France and from Rome, during the later years of the great French war. There was a rush to obtain examples of his works, and his name was on the lips of every connoisseur of art.

It was at this time that a famous English landscape painter, who had already acquired a high reputation for his works, both in oil and water-colour, fell under the spell of Claude. Turner, in 1810, was thirty-five years old, but he was now prepared to give a new direction to his art. This was partly, no doubt, in genuine admiration for the works of Claude that he saw in the houses of his patrons, but partly, I am afraid, from an uneasy spirit of emulation. This spirit, which he did not throw off until late in his life, led him from time to time to adopt the style of any painter whose works had come into temporary prominence. In any case, he now openly pitted himself against Claude, first in more than one plate of his *Liber Studiorum*, and then in large canvases like the "Morning of the Chase" and the

¹ It was his contemporary, the Venetian Zuccarelli, whose cheerful but trifling landscapes had an immense vogue in England about the middle of the eighteenth century, that Wilson followed when he began to turn his attention to landscape.

"Apuleia," both of 1814, and again in the "Rise of the Carthaginian Empire" of 1815.

On the whole, this influence of the earlier painter upon Turner was not a healthy one. The "Twickenham classical" is not one of the most attractive aspects of Turner's manifold genius. And when Ruskin came forward to proclaim Turner as the greatest of all landscape painters, past or present, it was wormwood and gall for him to find that his great protagonist had at one time bowed down before this representative of the debased art of the seventeenth century. Claude, then, must be destroyed; any admiration for this "blundering, pseudo-classical, pseudo-picturesque painter" was pilloried as a sign of both moral and intellectual weakness. In passage after passage Claude was held up to ridicule and contempt. But all this one-sided criticism (as we have said, much of it perfectly true in detail, but essentially beside the mark) has already become a curiosity of literary history. It may still in a few quarters be accepted as gospel. But the calm figure of Claude—the Claude of the "Enchanted Castle" and of the pen and bistre drawings—rises unscathed above this cloud of words.



SKETCH IN THE CAMPAGNA
Pen and Indian-ink wash, British Museum

CHAPTER XI

CLAUDE'S DRAWINGS AND ETCHINGS

The drawings of Claude—The reproductions by Earlom and Lewis—The principal collections—Claude's etchings.

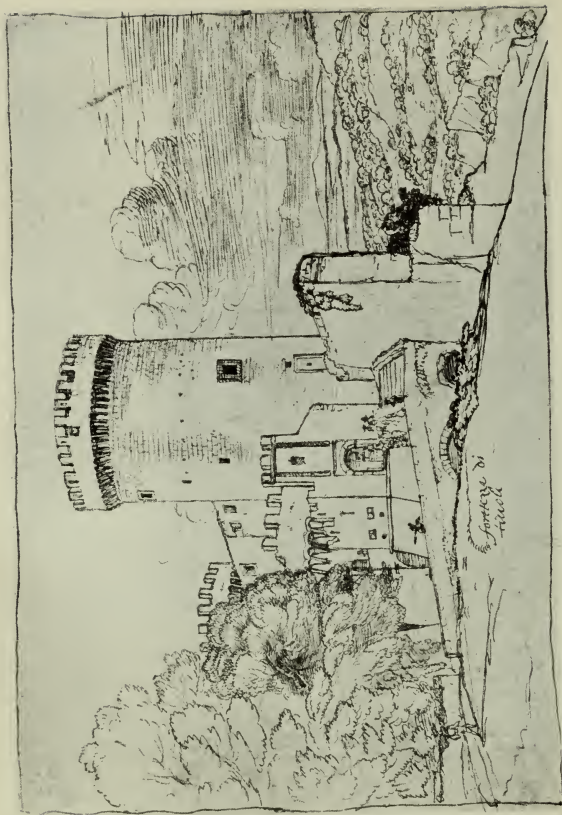
CLAUDE, on the merit of his oil pictures, has had the good luck—if good luck it be—to maintain among all subsequent generations of art lovers the high position that he held in his day. Among a smaller but perhaps even more enthusiastic circle, his fame, now and for many years since, has been at least as much dependent upon the appreciation of the surpassing beauty of his drawings. In any final verdict concerning his position as a great landscape painter, these drawings can in no way be left out of account.

But here we must distinguish. It is not to the laboured drawings that Claude produced in his later years—drawings at that time so much sought after by connoisseurs—nor even to the sketches that served as records of his pictures that survive in the *Liber Veritatis*—beautiful as many of these are—that the modern collector turns with the greatest pleasure, but rather to certain rapid work with pen and wash (*bistre*, *sepia*, or sometimes indian ink), impressions of nature or first thoughts for compositions. It was

in such drawings as these that Claude, from his fortieth to his sixtieth year, found a means of expressing all that was most precious and choice in his innermost nature, and that in an exquisite medium over which he had perfect mastery.

Claude's drawings are of special interest to his biographer. By them far more than by his pictures we are able to trace his artistic development. Not a few of them are dated, and although on scarcely one can a year previous to 1640 be found, by the evidence of these dates alone, negatively applied, we are able to throw back a whole class of drawings to an earlier period. Apart from one or two rather helpless sketches in black chalk, showing little feeling for composition—the attribution, indeed, of some of these to Claude is not quite convincing—his earliest drawings show already complete freedom of hand, and, indeed, not a little mannerism. Among them may be mentioned some little studies of ports—actual scenes that can be identified with Marseilles and Civit  Vecchia¹—rapidly sketched with a fine pen, that call to mind the earlier etchings of Callot. These are probably the work of Claude's twenty-fifth to thirtieth year, and they may help us to form some idea of his manner at the time of his return from Nancy. It will be remembered that we can point to no single oil picture that can be referred to so early a date as this. But at that time we know that he was engaged in important

¹ British Museum, F.f. 2, 157, "*Per il viage di Civita Vecchia*" and the "Port of Marseilles," from the Roupell Collection, reproduced in Lady Dilke's book.



FORTEZZA DI TIVOLI

Early pen drawing on blue paper. British Museum

work upon the walls of Roman palaces—work that included romantic landscape scenes as well as marine compositions. Some hint as to the nature of these compositions may perhaps be derived from the little elaborated drawing that has recently passed to the British Museum from the Vaughan Collection. We see here a rocky coast, with vessels running into port; the sun is sinking over a stormy sea. This drawing is almost identical in composition with the earliest of Claude's etchings—that known as the "Tempest." The etching is dated 1630, and the same year may perhaps be read on the drawing.

It is probably to the years of the intimacy of Claude with Sandrart (say from 1630 to 1635) that we may attribute a series of elaborately finished studies, carefully drawn with the pen. A view of the Fortezza at Tivoli (British Museum, No. 78) is a good example of this period. To this time may also belong the little sketches, generally on blue paper, in pen and bistre-wash heightened with white, somewhat spottily applied, of which there are examples in the British Museum and in the Heseltine Collection. These are essentially studies from nature—fragments of architecture, broken walls, and stunted trees. There is not a little in these sketches to remind us of the contemporary work of the Dutch masters. The Claudesque treatment of the trees is not yet developed, but a distant landscape is in some daintily indicated by means of delicate penwork.

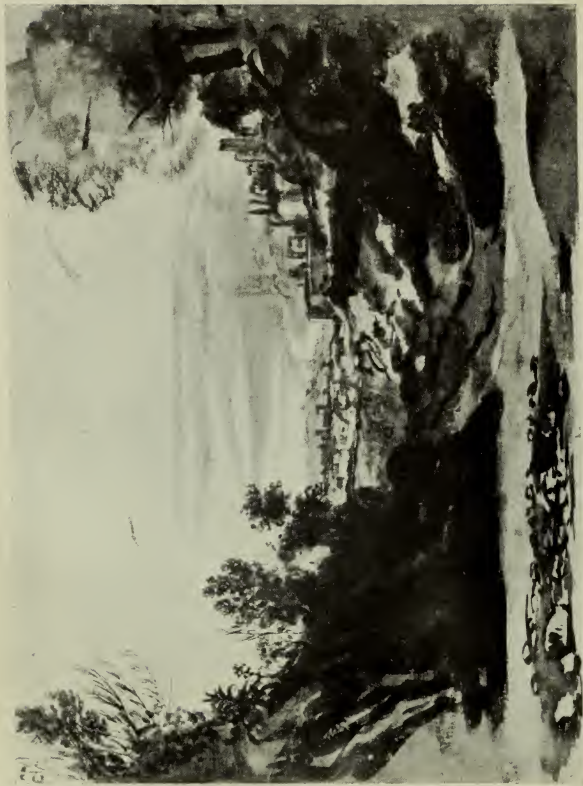
A careful drawing of the "Campo Vaccino" in

the British Museum is identical in composition with M. de Béthune's picture, now in the Louvre, and what is more important, with the already mentioned etching (reversed) dated 1636. The drawing may probably be referred to the same date, and it shows that by that time Claude had achieved considerable command of that combination of sepia or bistre with free pen drawing that forms the basis of so much of his best work.

What may be called the "fine" period of Claude's work lies between the years 1640 and 1665. We have seen with regard to his oil pictures that he made no advance after the latter date, and that much of the work of the remaining years of his life is of greatly inferior interest. This limit is not less marked in the case of his drawings. I will run through my notes of the drawings in the British Museum (a representative collection, over three hundred in number). Among those that I have marked as of commanding merit, I find the dates 1640, 1642, 1648, 1660 (twice), 1661, and 1663 (three times).¹ Those bearing later dates belong, without exception I think, to that class of elaborated compositions to which I have already alluded.

It is to this central period, and on the whole to the earlier part of it, that we must assign these wonderful combinations of penwork with sepia and bistre or more rarely with indian ink, among which may be found what are perhaps the most perfect expressions of Claude's genius. I will

¹ It must be borne in mind that Claude rarely dated his drawings before the sixties.



APPROACH TO TOWN

Sketch in bistre wash. British Museum

not attempt to analyse the source of their charm, but will only call attention to the marvellous way in which the successive planes of the foreground and middle distance (to say nothing of the actual "*dégradation des lointains*") are indicated with these simple materials. Notice, too, the use made of the blurred line, caused apparently by the pen working on moistened paper. These lines, crisp at times, appear at others to melt into the luminous masses of bistre-wash—it is like looking into a crystal of topaz or a cairngorm pebble. This is an effect obtained also by Turner—not so much in the drawings themselves, but in some of the finest prints of the *Liber Studiorum*. In these the vigorous and often broad etched lines combined with the grounding of the mezzotint replace the penwork and the bistre-wash respectively. For it is rather on the bistre drawings of the class we are now describing than on the more artificial work of the *Liber Veritatis* that so much of the effect and even of the technique in the plates of Turner's great work is based.

There are one or two rare sketches of this middle period where the effect is obtained, as it were, post-haste with the brush alone; a few rapid strokes and dabs, and we have a suggestion of a forest glade opening to a wide landscape.¹

¹ D'Argenville, writing before the middle of the eighteenth century, accurately notes as a peculiarity in Claude's work in water-colour that "quelque fois pour éviter de mettre du blanc au pinceau, il *épargnait* le fond du papier : sujétion peu ordinaire chez les grands peintres!" The

To this period also, especially to the early part of it, belong many careful studies of huge oaks and pines often encircled by luxuriant growth of ivy, not a few of them made at the Villa Madama. By dint of long observation and by such careful studies, Claude acquired a profound knowledge of what we may call the *general habits* of trees as opposed to their specific differences. In his pictures it is often difficult to say of his trees whether they may be intended for oaks or elms, or rather for some exotic race. But the very essence of tree growth is there. Above all, Claude noted the manner in which the sun's rays find their way among the mighty boughs, or are interrupted by the dense foliage. This is why, even in our northern landscape, a sudden memory of Claude may at times be called up by the view of a cluster of tall trees through which the light from the sun or the evening sky falls obliquely.

There remains one large division of Claude's drawings in which, to me at least, it is somewhat difficult to discover the superlative merit found in them by our ancestors. These are the elaborate compositions (in most of them a careful penwork again plays an important part) that were above all selected for reproduction by the later eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century engravers—by Earlom and by Lewis. To this class the drawings of the *Liber Veritatis* as a whole belong,

writer thinks it necessary to explain at some length what he means by the expression "*épargner*." The process has, of course, long been familiar to our English school of water-colour painters.

though many of them, of course, are of a comparatively early date.¹

For the most part, however, these essentially artificial works—for the artificial elements of Claude's pictures are especially prominent in them—belong to the later years of his life. Some were made as designs for pictures, as we may see in the many *pentimenti* and frequent overworkings,² but others, such as the fine series of large drawings now at Windsor (reproduced early in the last century by Lewis) and others at Oxford, appear to have had an independent origin. They were eagerly sought after by the collectors of the day; more than one was given away by Claude as a present. In such drawings as these—in the very late ones above all, and many of them are dated—we see how Claude, towards the end of his career, fell under what we may call the *baroque* influence of the day. This may be observed in the architecture, in the pseudo-classical figures who often appear to wear full-bottomed wigs, and in the “wriggly” lines of the penwork. Towards the close of his life Claude's taste for archæology appears to have grown on him. We find careful studies of Roman galleys and of Roman warriors in elaborately drawn armour.

¹ I say “of course,” but I sometimes have my doubts whether some at least of the earlier drawings of the “Liber” were not executed at the time when Claude (about 1652) systematically started this record. There is, indeed, little change of style in the whole series.

² On an elaborate drawing of this class, sent to his friend M. Passart, in Paris, Claude has written: “*Dessine et Pancé du tableau du Prince Pamfilli.*”

The figure subjects at this time are for the most part taken from the *Æneid*. Indeed, it is not impossible that Claude, in his last years, may have had some idea of making a series of illustrations to that work. And yet at times we come across drawings, even late in the seventies,¹ in which the old poetic spirit is not yet overwhelmed by these incongruous influences.

Of the traditional origin of the *Liber Veritatis* I have already spoken (see cap. vi.). It has been seen that the idea of retaining a record of all the works that passed out of Claude's hands was not systematically carried out till a somewhat late period, and that, as a rule, only after the year 1652 were the drawings dated. This is indeed the case with Claude's drawings generally; dates earlier than 1660 are very rarely to be found. In view of the many repetitions of earlier pictures made by Claude towards the end of his career, I think it not unlikely that the "*Liber*" drawings may have been kept at hand as "*samples*," from which a selection could be made by the commissioners of new works, for many of the original canvases must long have passed away out of Claude's reach.

The *Liber Veritatis*, as we have seen, was bequeathed by Claude to his dearly loved Agnese. On her death it remained for some time in the hands of Claude's family. On the ground of the terms of the will by which they became possessed

¹ I think, however, that in some cases where the third figure of a date has been doubtfully read as a 7, an earlier year is demanded on stylistic grounds.

of it, his nephews and grand-nephews refused to sell it to the agents of Louis XIV. So D'Argenville tells us in his *Abrégé*—it was only on the death of a niece of Claude, in whose hands he had seen the book, that the precious volume passed first to a goldsmith in Paris, and then to a Dutch dealer, from whom it was bought by the Duke of Devonshire. Since that time it has found a safe home among other treasures in the library at Chatsworth.

About the year 1774 the book was lent by the fifth duke to Earlom, the engraver, to be reproduced in a combination of etching and mezzotint.¹ The drawings remained in the hands of the engraver for three years (so says Earlom in the dedication of his work to the Duke in 1777), and they were at that time doubtless taken out from their original binding. Indeed, from the expression used by John Smith (*Catalogue Raisonné*, part viii. p. 186), it would seem that in his day (about 1837) they adorned the walls of a room at Chatsworth. At the present time the two hundred drawings are mounted "drum-wise" (so as to show both sides), and are preserved in an oblong volume bound in red morocco, with fine lace toolings of the early eighteenth century.²

¹ I do not know if the process in this case can be properly so called. In the dark parts only of the composition have the plates been roughened, by the roulette or otherwise. There is little or no scraping out. The effect is therefore quite different—much poorer, indeed—from that obtained in the *Liber Studiorum* of Turner.

² When examining the volume at Chatsworth, I noticed that the leather at the back of the volume is of much later

As to the merits of Earlom's famous reproduction of the "Liber," the widest differences of opinion have prevailed. Vastly admired at the time of its appearance and long afterwards—Nagler refers to it as the most noted production of the great English school of engraving of the eighteenth century—there is perhaps now a tendency to over-depreciation. M. de Laborde, one of the first to examine critically the original drawings (*Archives de l'Art Français*, vol. i.), speaks of Earlom's work with the greatest contempt. While spreading the fame of Claude, these engravings, he says, have compromised his reputation. "Il est impossible de traduire d'une manière plus futile, plus insipide, plus monotone, en un mot plus banale, une collection de deux cents dessins qui sont des chefs-d'œuvre, par leur profondeur, leur sentiment, leur variété et leur distinction."

After this it may seem rather superfluous to point out that Earlom's reproductions must be carefully distinguished from the original drawings by Claude. We find, however, that even by such a writer as Ruskin no distinction seems to be made between the two series; again, the official catalogue of the National Gallery speaks of Claude's pictures as being "engraved in the *Liber Veritatis*"—a very ambiguous expression, to say the least.

At a considerably later date, in 1804, Earlom date than that on the sides. This part of the binding was probably renewed when the drawings were restored to their original boards.



MARINE WITH ARTIST DRAWING
Earlomi's engraving of Liber Veritatis, No. 130



"EVENING OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE"
Engraving by Woollett of the picture belonging to Lord Radnor

engraved a supplementary volume of a hundred plates, chiefly from late drawings of Claude chosen from various private collections. As we have said, it is these late artificial compositions that at that time were the most highly valued. This is perhaps rather a fortunate circumstance, for these eighteenth-century engravers, it would seem, had little respect for the original works that were entrusted to them for reproduction. How far the charge made against Earlom by Lady Dilke is true—that he daubed masses of white paint over parts of Claude's drawings to heighten the effect—it is now difficult to say; for Claude did something of the sort himself in many of his later designs. But certainly the drawings that passed through Earlom's hands have suffered; they may, indeed, generally be recognised by their present condition.¹

¹ At a much earlier date, Arthur Pond (1705-58) had engraved for Boydell several of Claude's drawings, but these are poor things. On the other hand, Lewis's reproductions of the large Windsor drawings (1809) seem to me to have considerable merit. Beside these, in 1824 and 1826, Lewis engraved nearly a hundred drawings from the Payne Knight Collection.

I have no space to enumerate the many engravers who have reproduced Claude's work in pure line, but a word should be said of his contemporary, Dominique Barrière, of Marseilles (b. 1622). He was an intimate friend of Claude, who, indeed, seems to have made several drawings to assist him in his work. Of the eighteenth-century engravers of Claude's pictures, the most important is Vivares (1709-82). It is his pupil Woollett who engraved what is perhaps the most beautiful of all the reproductions of Claude's works—the grand plate of the "Evening of the Roman Empire."

It remains to give some account of the present whereabouts of Claude's drawings. If the British Museum far surpasses all other collections, public or private, in the number and importance of the drawings by Claude in its possession, this is due above all to the legacy of Mr. Payne Knight. By the will of that eminent antiquary no less than 273 drawings came to the nation in 1824.¹ Some mystery hangs over the origin of this collection. According to the story current at the time, the drawings were contained in an old leather-bound folio that was picked up for a trifle in Spain at the beginning of the century. One Binda, an enterprising dealer, unearthed this volume in an old bookshop in Madrid. Samuel Woodburn, the well-known dealer, acting for Sir Thomas Lawrence, was in treaty for their purchase when Mr. Payne Knight by an advanced bid—£1,600 it is said—cut him out, much to the annoyance of the great portrait painter.

Of late years the British Museum has received further bequests of Claude's drawings from Mr. Henry Vaughan and from Mr. Malcolm of Polt-

¹ According to a contemporary writer in the *Somerset House Gazette*, these drawings were left to the National Gallery, an institution at that time in an inchoate state, and not yet differentiated from the main National Collection at Bloomsbury. Might not this fact serve as a precedent for the transference to the British Museum, so poor now in drawings by Turner, of the innumerable sketches by that artist, still stowed away in tin trunks in one of the store-rooms at Trafalgar Square. Among these loose bundles and eviscerated sketch-books are many things of great beauty that were passed over by Ruskin.

alloch. These drawings are of the very highest quality, and, what is more, fresh and bright as when first executed.

The most important private collection of Claude drawings in England is now doubtless that of Mr. Heseltine; it contains many good drawings both early and late. Of the other collections catalogued by Lady Dilke, the Roupell and the Mitchell have, I think, been broken up. On the other hand, Sir James Knowles has brought together a small but representative collection, which comprises among other things some dated drawings that throw not a little light on Claude's career. Of the large late drawings at Windsor we have already spoken. The Claude drawings at Chatsworth, apart from the *Liber Veritatis*, are unfortunately in a very bad condition. Many important drawings, both early and late, from Lord Leicester's collection at Holkham were shown at Burlington House in 1879 and 1902. Finally, some fine drawings from Christ Church, Oxford, have been lately well reproduced by Professor Colvin.

Claude is badly represented in most of the public collections of drawings of the old masters on the Continent. There are, however, nearly fifty drawings by him in the Albertina at Vienna, and the collection in the Louvre, although a small one, contains several examples of great beauty and interest. M. Bonnat, the well-known portrait painter, has lately bequeathed his choice collection of Claude drawings to the town of Bayonne. Finally, in the Teyler Museum at Haarlem is a

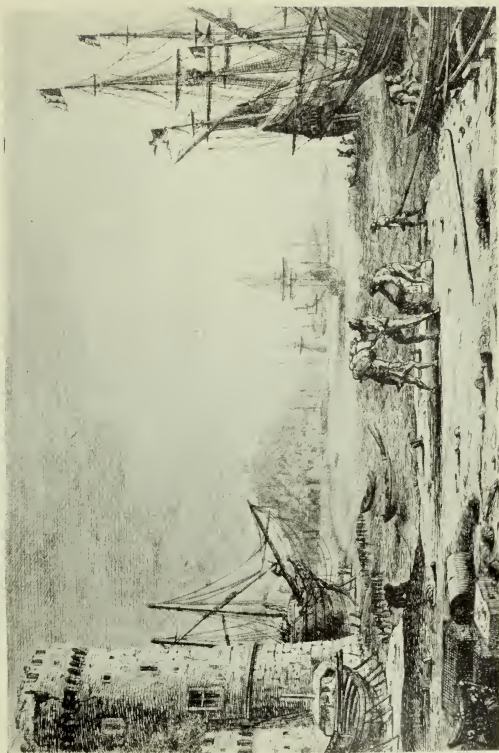
collection of sixty fine drawings by our master, as well as twenty-five of doubtful authenticity. The examples in this collection, most of which passed from the cabinet of Queen Christina of Sweden to that of the Duke of Bracciano, have lately been carefully catalogued by Mr. H. J. Scholten.

THE ETCHINGS OF CLAUDE

The vast tale of highly finished oil pictures, perhaps not less than five hundred in number, and the innumerable designs and sketches, many of them carefully elaborated, do not exhaust the produce of Claude's long and busy years of artistic activity. There remain to be considered his etchings.

The art of drawing with a needle upon a prepared ground covering a copper plate was not exactly a new one at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but it had only lately been brought into general favour. At that time etching was practised above all by the painters of the North ; with the Italians the art never obtained any great vogue.

At Nancy Claude must have come in contact with the busy school of etchers that looked up to Callot as their leader. But it was rather from his Netherlandish and German friends in Rome that the inspiration came in his case. Sandrart had early in life learnt the art from Sadler at Prague, and one of Claude's earliest etchings, the "*Campo Vaccino*," is almost identical with one made by his German comrade (see p. 113).



PORT SCENE AT SUNRISE

Etching by Claude

In the size of the plate and in the elaboration of the details, Claude's etchings—the earlier ones above all—fall in with the works of the innumerable Flemish and Dutch landscape painters of the day, nearly all of whom, as we have said, practised the art. But Claude knew how to throw a poetical spirit into his work, so that, in spite of the technical deficiencies and of a certain amateurish air to be found in some of his etchings (arising from the fact that he never obtained complete mastery of the process), a fairly good example of one of his more famous plates is eagerly sought after by the collector. Indeed, early states of most of these etchings are rarely to be met with.

Claude was indeed essentially a painter-etcher. There is nothing *banale* and little that is conventional in the conduct of his needle—in fact, one of the great charms of his etchings lies in this very unconventionality. Not only is the dry-point used at times, but some of the plates show the free use of the engraver's burin, and Mr. Seymour Haden has pointed out that in one plate at least—“*La Danse Villageoise*”—by the roughening of the ground, an effect similar to the work of the mezzotinter has been obtained (Lady Dilke, *Life*, p. 162).

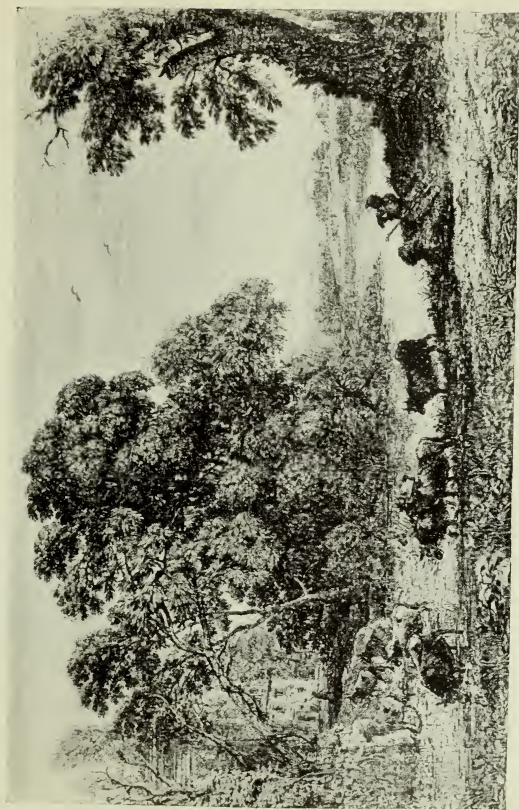
The keen research of the collector has ended by attributing as many as forty-four etchings to the hand of Claude. But of these one or two are doubtfully by the master; some others are of a quite insignificant character. Of the remainder as many as thirteen were made for the illustration of that rarest of little books—“*Description de las*

fiestas que el Sr Marques de Castel Rodrigo, embaxador de España celebros en questa corte ala nueva del election de Ferdinando III de Austria, Rey de Romanos”—published at Rome in 1637.¹

On the curious little etching of the “Tempest,” which I have already mentioned in connection with the drawing now in the British Museum (*ex* Vaughan Collection), the figures 1630 may be read; this is probably the earliest date to be found on any work of Claude. This plate is no work of a novice hand.

The bulk of the more important of Claude’s etched work was executed about the year 1635. At that time, or shortly before, we know that he had been thrown much with Sandrart and his circle of Flemish friends—Pieter de Laer, Jan Miel, and others—all of whom were adepts with the needle. To this period we may attribute a compact group of nearly twenty plates. It would include the famous “*Bouvier*” of 1636, undoubtedly

¹ We have in these little plates a record of one of those public festivities in which an elaborate pyrotechnic display formed an important part. Such exhibitions were given especially by ambassadors to celebrate a great event—a peace, a marriage, or a coronation. It is surprising to find Claude, who must already at that time have attained to some position as a painter, engaged in so trifling a work, and one so remote from his usual bent. To judge by the grouping of the little figures in the street scenes, he was at this time still strongly under the influence of Callot. I may mention that this series of prints, otherwise almost inaccessible, is included among the admirable reproductions of Claude’s etched work made by M. Amand-Durand. Paris, 1875. (Text by M. George Duplessis.)



“LE BOUVIER.” (THE NEAT-HERD)
Engraving by Claude

the most popular of Claude's etchings; the "*Campo Vaccino*" of the same year; the "Crossing the Brook" of 1634, noteworthy as being perhaps the only pure etching of the series; the "Dancing Goats," a plate that was afterwards divided into two parts; the "Port Scene with Sunrise" of 1636, remarkable for its effect of dazzling light; the "Flight into Egypt," with its Elsheimer-like landscape; and finally the "Dance by the Water," which recalls some of the compositions of Paul Brill.

In a few others of Claude's etchings, as in the "*Pont au Bois*," the dry and trivial execution of the distance is in marked contrast to the usual work of Claude. The "Shipwreck" (not to be confused with the "Tempest") is poor and conventional both in composition and execution; although generally attributed to the year 1635, this may possibly be a very early work.

After an interval of several years, Claude in 1651 produced the fine etching known as the "Herd in Stormy Weather," a poetical but somewhat laboured work that was much altered in subsequent states. To the same year belongs probably the large plate known as the "Village Dance," in its first state imperfectly bitten and much damaged in later impressions. The date inserted on the "Europa and the Bull" is generally read as 1634, but there are many reasons, extrinsic and intrinsic, for giving this fine etching rather to the year 1654. This plate would then form a transition to the small final group of Claude's etched work—to the "Apollo and the

Seasons" of 1662, remarkable for the elaborate composition, in which the well-grouped and fairly executed figures play an important part, and finally to the "Goatherd" of 1663, masterly both in composition and carrying out.

CHAPTER XII

PICTURES BY CLAUDE IN FOREIGN GALLERIES

IT would obviously be impossible within the compass of this little book to give a complete list of the pictures attributed to Claude. Waagen in his *Art Treasures* enumerates as many as 135 examples of the master that he saw in public and private collections in England alone. But an appreciation of landscape painting was not the strongest point in the equipment of the industrious German critic, and he included in his lists many canvases that have no claim to be regarded as from the hand of the master.

John Smith, the picture dealer, in his elaborate *Catalogue Raisonné*, devoted more than 200 pages to the works of Claude. His list is based upon the *Liber Veritatis* in the first place, but not less than 423 pictures are described in some detail. When he wrote, about 1836, the "boom" in Claude's pictures was at its height, perhaps it had already passed its culminating point. He seems, indeed, to have had more than one work of the master on his hands at the time.

Claude's pictures are well held. Of late years but few of them have come into the market, so

that by supplementing Smith's careful descriptions with the list arranged according to country and owners to be found at the end of Lady Dilke's *Life* a very good idea can be formed of the present whereabouts of Claude's pictures.

In a former chapter I have given a brief sketch of what we know of the more prominent patrons of Claude, indicating some of the most important pictures that they obtained directly from his studio. I now propose to run through the principal European galleries that at the present day contain works by Claude. Our English collections are for the most part of comparatively late formation; it will be more logical, therefore, to reserve them for the last.¹

THE GALLERY OF THE LOUVRE contains as many as sixteen works by or attributed to Claude. This group of pictures is remarkable above all as including the earliest of Claude's oil pictures to which an approximate date can be given. Of the "Seaport with Rising Sun" (219), and of the "*Campo Vaccino*" (220) I have already spoken. They were painted for M. de Béthune. The "*Campo Vaccino*" is identical in composition with the etching of 1636, and to that year, or not long before it, rather than to the time of M. de Béthune's departure from Rome (this was as early as 1629 I think), I should be inclined to attribute these two canvases. We now pass to the earliest pictures

¹ In this chapter and in some other places in this book I have thought that an occasional repetition was preferable to the worry of frequent cross-references.

by Claude that bear a date. These are the "Village Dance" (221) and the "Seaport with Setting Sun" (222), which were painted in 1639 for Urban VIII. In the first both the treatment of the foliage and the figures show distinct signs of Flemish or Dutch influence. On the other hand, we may in this work trace an early stage of that skilful handling of the distant plains—what D'Argenville calls the "*dégradation des lointains*"—that distinguishes all the later work of Claude.

The "Landing of Cleopatra at Tarsus" (223) is a beautiful picture of the middle period, perhaps the finest example of Claude in the Louvre. The warm solid painting of the figures and of the picturesque group of shipping in the foreground throws back the buildings and sky, that are wrapped in a greenish-yellow haze. This picture and its companion, "David anointed by Samuel," were painted in 1647 for Cardinal Giorio. The two harbour scenes (225 and 226) executed about the same time are fair specimens of these conventional subjects; they are remarkable also as having been engraved by Barrière in Claude's lifetime.

Passing over another very poor harbour scene, perhaps repainted (227), we come to two little oval pictures (228 and 229), somewhat early works apparently, but full of a romantic sentiment, and, in spite of Waagen's doubts, unmistakably by the master. No. 230 is a small sober landscape, very poetical in feeling. The cumulus to the left, lit by the setting sun, is a *motif* that we do not often find in Claude's pictures. No. 231 is a wreck,

daubed over in parts. No. 232 is a harbour scene, reminding one of Genoa ; there is no little charm in the dark olive-green shadows and the pale gold in the sky of this picture.

We come finally to two little oval pictures (233 and 234). They are painted on copper plated with silver, a process, it would seem, that had some vogue about the middle of the century. They represent the Siege of La Rochelle by Louis XIII. in 1628, and the passage of the "Pas de Suze" by the same king in 1629. The documentary evidence for attributing to Claude these little works, which came from the collection of the Comte de Brienne, is very strong, the latter, indeed, is signed "*Claude in Roma, 1651.*" On the other hand, it is impossible to see the hand of Claude, above all the Claude of 1651, in either. On intrinsic grounds they might well be attributed to Borgognone (Jacques Courtois).

At GRENOBLE, in the Provincial Museum, are two important pictures by Claude. One of them, the "*Effet du Matin*," is a work of surpassing merit. "The fresh breath of the dawn threads its way through the plains away to the horizon, and the white light of morning firmly marks the contours," says an enthusiastic French critic. The companion of this picture may perhaps be recognised in a canvas now at Windsor. They were both painted for M. Passart, the well-known patron of Poussin.

SPAIN.—Somewhere about the year 1650 Claude executed an important commission for the King of

Spain—the *Re Cattolica*—eight pictures, says Baldinucci—four with subjects taken from the Old Testament, four from the New (see above, cap. vi.). There are now, as we have seen, ten pictures by Claude in the Prado Gallery, but of these only two deal with distinctly biblical subjects. In the *Liber Veritatis* five works are mentioned as painted for the King of Spain, and these five may all be identified with pictures now at Madrid.¹ These are important canvases of the artist's best period, but they are for the most part, I am afraid, in deplorable condition—some of them mere wrecks.² This is certainly the case with the "Tobias and the Angel," and still more with the "Embarkation of Sta. Paola," a fine upright picture, very near in composition to the small harbour piece in the Dulwich Gallery. The figures in the "Sta. Paola," as also in its companion, the "Burial of Sta. Sabina," are traditionally ascribed to Courtois, to Guillaume probably (1628–79), rather than to his better-known brother Jacques (Borgognone). For the "Magdalen adoring the Cross," in which the kneeling figure plays an important part, there is a large study in

¹ "The Temptation of St. Anthony, Moonlight" (L.V., No. 32); "The Finding of Moses" (L.V., No. 47); "The Burial of Sta. Sabina" (L.V., No. 48); "The Embarkation of Sta. Paola" (L.V., No. 49); "Tobias and the Angel" (L.V., No. 50)—all large pictures, some seven feet by five.

² So I judge from photographs and from the report of competent observers who have lately visited the collection. As in the case of the Hermitage Gallery so for the Prado, I must confess that I have little recollection of the pictures of Claude.

the British Museum ; this is dated 1648, an important confirmation of the assumed date of this group of pictures.

ITALY.—Of the almost numberless pictures by Claude that were still to be found in the palaces of the Roman nobility at the end of the eighteenth century there remain few works of importance beyond the famous canvases of the Doria Pamfili Palace. Apart from the exceptional merit and good state of preservation of these pictures, they are of interest as being an almost unique instance of works by Claude that have remained on the same walls from the years when they were painted. The well-known "*Molino*" is the original of which our National Gallery picture (see below) may be regarded as a somewhat summarily executed replica. The figures in the two pictures are identical except in the colour of some of the draperies, but there are slight differences in the foliage of the trees and in the lines of the distance. The same composition is found in a drawing in the possession of Sir Seymour Haden, dated 1647. Even more beautiful, perhaps, is the companion picture, the "Temple of Apollo in the Island of Delos" (L.V., No. 119), unsurpassed in the richness of the composition and the freshness of the morning landscape ; it is, in fact, one of Claude's masterpieces.

The few Claudes that remain in other Roman palaces—Sciarra, Barberini, Rospigliosi, etc.—do not call for any special notice.

The "Seaport" in the Uffizi at Florence (L.V.,



THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT DELOS

Palazzo Doria Pamphili, Rome

No. 28), which came from the Villa Medici, is merely an enlarged version of the early harbour scene (the Béthune picture) in the Louvre ; there is the same incident of the girl selling pottery in the foreground.

In the Palazzo Reale at Turin is a pair of landscapes—"Morning" and "Evening"—of considerable beauty, and a fine late composition, "The Muse Egeria" (L.V., No. 175, 1669), may be seen in the Museum at Naples—a typical composition of the later period, painted for the Constable Colonna.

GERMANY.—Claude, as we have seen, painted several pictures for German patrons—for Herr Mayer, a well-known collector at Regensburg, and for the "Comte Waldestain"—but at the present day the master is poorly represented in German galleries, public or private. Berlin possesses only one genuine picture. The famous Claudes formerly in the Electoral Gallery at Cassel passed first to the private collection of Napoleon (or rather of Josephine) at Malmaison, and then to St. Petersburg, where we shall meet with them in the Hermitage.

MUNICH.—The four genuine Claudes in the Old Pinakothek are all of them late works. The two pictures with Hagar and Ishmael may be identified by the inscription on the back of the "Liber" drawings Nos. 173 and 174:—"Claudio Gilée fecit in Roma per Ill^{mo} Signor Monsig^r le Comte Waldestain, 1668." In one of them, the Grotto of

Posilipo, at Naples, is somewhat incongruously introduced. For the history of a third picture, "A Port Scene with Morning Effect," we must refer to the inscription on the back of the fifth drawing of the *Liber Veritatis*. The composition occurs in the earliest form in the etching known as "*Le Soleil levant*," made about 1636. The galley-slaves in the foreground lifting pieces of wood take us indeed back to Tassi. The subject was first treated in oil for the Bishop of Mans, probably about 1650, as we learn from the writing at the back of the drawing in the "*Liber*." This canvas is now in the Hermitage. But the inscription goes on to state: "*Il presente disegno io lo fatto per Ill Sig^{re} francesco Mayer, Consigliere di S. A. Elettorale di Baviera l'ano 1674 . . .*" This is, of course, the picture now in the Pinakothek, which, however, bears no trace of being the work of an old man. In addition, a good replica is in the possession of Lord Yarborough, and a poor copy at Hampton Court. We have in all this a good instance of the way in which Claude repeated in his old age the works of an earlier period. The fourth of Claude's landscapes at Munich is a variation of the famous "*Bouvier*" etching. This work, as we learn from the "*Liber*" (No. 176), was also painted for Herr Mayer, counsellor at Ratisbon, in 1670.

DRESDEN.—The great gallery at Dresden only possesses two pictures by Claude, but these two are of superlative excellence. The "Flight into Egypt" is one of Claude's most beautiful com-



ALCIS AND GALATEA (POLYPHEMUS)

Dresden

positions, and the picture is in perfect condition. It was painted for a patron at Lyons, probably about 1645-50 (see L.V., No. 110). In the dark masses of foliage, the hazy distance, and the smooth-flowing river that, after falling in a cascade, forms in the foreground a calm sheet of water, M. Michel, rather strangely I think, finds a reminiscence of the smiling banks of the Moselle. For the landscape is in the main Italian; but Claude, when he painted it, had not thrown off all northern influences; of this we have evidence in the treatment of the more distant trees.

Of the second landscape at Dresden I have already spoken. To me it seems, in spite of the rather crowded composition and of the absurd figure of Polyphemus that gives it a name, in some respects even more remarkable than its companion.¹ There is, I think, no other picture of Claude, unless it be the "Enchanted Castle" at Lockinge House, which is so diffused with a magic light. Here the "secret of Claude"—the use of the scumblings of pearly green and turquoise hues—has been perhaps more successfully employed than in any other of his works.

In the Museum at COLOGNE is an impressive landscape with pearly distance and trees silhouetted

¹ A former owner of this picture, the Comte de Nocé, had the figures of Acis and Galatea in the foreground repainted by Bon Boulogne, who added the Cupid and doves. The charm of this picture lies above all in its "bloom," which, of course, is not rendered in a photograph.

in graceful manner against a luminous sky. In the midst of the darkened foreground the figures of Cupid and Psyche may be made out, half immersed in a sheet of water (L.V., No. 167). This picture was painted in 1666 for the Conestabile Colonna. It came recently from an English collection.

At VIENNA there are pictures by Claude in some of the private collections, in the well-known Harrach and Czernin galleries for instance, as well as two landscapes in the Academy.

In the National Gallery at BUDA PESTH there is at least one fine canvas. The composition of this work resembles that of the *Liber Veritatis* No. 107, which was painted for the Pamfili Prince; and this may well be the identical picture that was once in the Doria Gallery.

ST. PETERSBURG.—In the gallery of the Hermitage are as many as twelve important pictures by Claude. The majority of these canvases were bought by the Empress Catherine II.; three of them came in 1779 with the pictures of the Houghton Gallery, collected by Sir Robert Walpole; two others from the Crozat Collection—all of these acquisitions of the Empress.

Of the Houghton pictures, the "Sun Rising through a Mist" is, as we have said, an early version of the picture at Munich. The title of another of the Walpole pictures, "The Gulf of Baïæ, with Apollo and the Cumæan Sibyl," is



"MORNING" (THE MEETING OF JACOB AND RACHEL)
The Hermitage, St. Petersburg

identical with that given by Turner to his picture of 1823, now in the National Gallery. Claude's picture was engraved in the *Houghton Gallery*, and Turner may have seen the print. The third Walpole picture is also a marine.

But the most famous of the Hermitage pictures are the four that came from Malmaison; they were bought by the Emperor Alexander in 1815. It is a curious coincidence that all these canvases were originally painted, though at different dates, for Flemish patrons: three of them for Antwerp and the fourth for the Bishop of Yprès.

These large pictures have come to be known as the four times of day—"Morning," "Midday," "Evening," and "Night." They were, however, as we have said, not painted at the same date, and the original titles, according to the *Liber Veritatis*,¹ have reference to the biblical incidents to be found in the foregrounds. Of these pictures, the first, a magnificent composition with central group of trees, has suffered from rubbing and local damage. Departing from his usual scheme of composition, Claude has in this work filled the centre of his canvas with a lofty mass of foliage, "so that only here and there an opening may be seen. Half hidden by these huge trees, some picturesque ruins seem lost amid this solitary tract, and complete the impression of silence and of mysterious desolation in this beautiful retreat." I quote from M. Michel (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1884) this appreciation of the famous "*Matin*." The figures

¹ No. 154, 1661; No. 160, 1663; No. 169, 1667; and No. 181, 1672.

in these canvases are certainly in the style of Lauri, but the existence of several studies for the "Evening" and the "Night" that are undoubtedly by Claude (*e.g.* Jacob and the Angel and Tobias, in the British Museum) should make us accept such attributions with considerable hesitation. The "Midday" with the Holy Family is a typical Claudesque composition of great beauty, and the picture appears to be in good condition.¹

¹ I judge from the photograph. It is many years since I have seen the picture.



"MIDDAY" (THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT)

The Hermitage, St. Petersburg

CHAPTER XIII

PICTURES BY CLAUDE IN ENGLISH GALLERIES

ALTHOUGH Claude painted one or two pictures for England, and Sir Peter Lely is said to have possessed three of his works, it was not until the eighteenth century was well advanced that the importation of his canvases to this country assumed important dimensions.

At the time when, by the sale of the Houghton Gallery, so many important pictures of the old masters passed to Russia, comparatively few of the numberless Claudes now in English galleries, public and private, had as yet reached this country. This was in 1779, but soon after this time the success of Earlom's rendering of the *Liber Veritatis*, the number of those who made the grand Italian tour, and again the constantly increasing appreciation of the beauty and importance of landscape in nature and art, these and other influences worked together towards the end of the century to bring about a keen competition for the canvases of Claude among our upper classes. Thus it happened that when the revolutionary wave swept first over France and

passed before long to Rome, and when through the flight or the ruin of their owners so many famous collections were broken up, the shrewd English and Dutch dealers, either directly or through their agents, were eager to purchase the numerous pictures by Claude that were thrown upon the market.

At this time sale succeeded sale in London. The Calonne and the Orleans collections came first. The most famous experts of the day—the Woodburns, Young, Ottley, Buchanan, and John Smith—were able, in spite of the war that was raging, to bring many famous pictures over from the Continent. Somewhat later at Rome we hear of an Englishman named Sloane (see above, p. 81) buying up the many Claudes that came from such well-known collections as the Aldobrandini, the Barberini, Borghese, Colonna, Giustiniani, and Chigi—names already familiar to us.

These early days of panic and repeated French occupation were glorious times for the collector with a cool head and a comparatively well-stocked purse. The difficulty came when it was proposed to export the canvases to England, and many strange stories are told of the adventurous journeys of some of these artistic cargoes.

The process did not end with the peace, for between 1815 and 1830 the works of the old masters were arriving in England in increasing number, and it was then indeed that there was the greatest demand for the pictures of Claude. As we have said, there was a genuine “boom” in the works of the master about the year 1820.

The prices given for his canvases at that time (there is much information on this head in Smith's *Catalogue Raisonné*) do not, on the whole, differ greatly from those paid at the present day. The Claude market has been a steady one compared with the changes that have occurred in other departments—the rise, for example, in the works of the early painters and the collapse in the prices given for pictures of the Bologna school and for the canvases of so many of Claude's contemporaries.

NATIONAL GALLERY.—We can find in our national collection a good illustration of the important place held by Claude in the art world early in the last century. There were already ten pictures by Claude in the National Gallery a few years after its foundation. At that time the whole collection comprised barely a hundred pictures. It now contains nearly two thousand, but in the interval only two works by our master have been added to it.

Compared with those in other public collections, the works by Claude in the National Gallery are distinguished by their high average merit and, above all, by their good state of preservation. They do not, however, by any means represent the whole career of the artist. For while the pictures in the Louvre are mainly early works, those at Madrid of the middle period of his life, and those again at Munich and St. Petersburg late specimens, our English collection is remarkable in this, that with only two exceptions the

works of Claude contained in it belong to his early middle (some would say late early) period. To six of them, including some of the most important, a definite date between the years 1644 and 1648 can be given. We have here indeed an interesting group, a little earlier than that at Madrid.

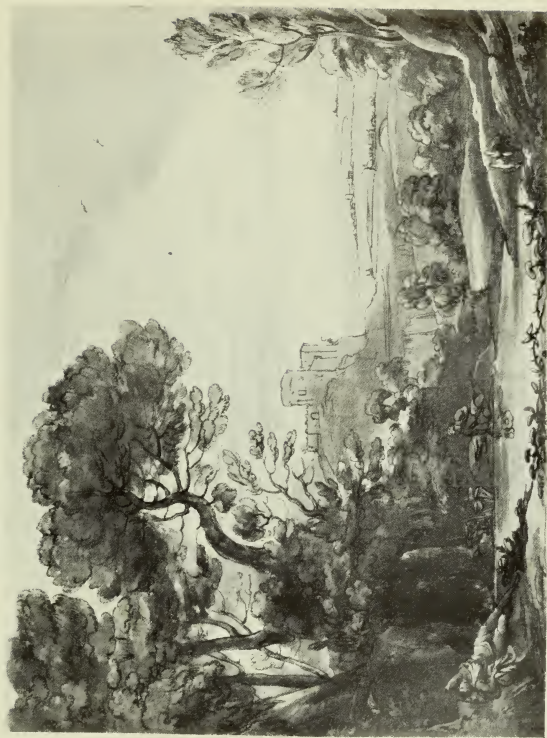
I will now examine these pictures somewhat more in detail.

1. "The Seaport at Sunset" (No. 5) bears Claude's signature and the date 1644. It is perhaps the earliest example of Claude in the Gallery. This is probably the work painted for the Cardinal Giorio (L.V., No. 43, not L.V., No. 28, as is stated in the official catalogue—that is a more elaborate composition with pottery-sellers, to which we have already referred). The picture came to the Gallery at the time of its first formation in 1824, from the Angerstein Collection. A poor work, indeed, dull, heavy, and monotonous, but interesting as an example of the brick-red hue to be found in several other renderings by Claude of the sunset sky. The strange architecture of the rusticated villa to the left should not be overlooked.

2. The "Narcissus and Echo" (No. 19) has been identified with the L.V., No. 77, "*Quadro faict pour Angleter.*" I do not know where the date—1644—given in the official catalogue is to be found. The picture was presented to the nation in 1826 by Sir George Beaumont. This is an early example of the Claudesque composition; the awkward but not impossible line of the



NARCISSUS AND ECHO
National Gallery



NARCISSUS AND ECHO

Earlom's engraving of Liber Veritatis, No. 77

tree-trunk to the left would probably have been avoided at a later date. This beautiful picture, with its pearly sky and distance, can, in its present position, only be properly appreciated on a very fine day—the absurd figures of Narcissus and the peering nymphs are, however, only too prominent.

3. The “Reconciliation of Cephalus and Procris” (No. 2) is dated 1645 and bears a monogram formed of the letters C, G, and L. I do not remember any other instance of such a signature. This is another of the pictures that came to the nation with the Angerstein Collection in 1824. The composition is founded on the *Liber Veritatis* drawing No. 91. It is in some respects the most beautiful and characteristic Claude in the collection. In the noble lines of the central mass of foliage and the warm glow that diffuses the whole landscape we have proof that Claude by this time had attained to complete mastery of the effect that he aimed at. The cattle wading through the water to the left are equally characteristic of the master, but unfortunately in another way.

4. In the “Embarkation of St. Ursula” (No. 30) and in the “Queen of Sheba” picture that hangs opposite to it, we have two of the most beautiful, and certainly the best preserved, of Claude’s harbour scenes. The “St. Ursula” may be associated with *Liber Veritatis* No. 54, where it is stated that the picture painted for the Cardinal Poli (about the year 1646) had already passed into the hands of Cardinal Barberini. This

picture again came from the Angerstein Gallery. The general lighting is warmer than in the "Queen of Sheba," and the gentle ripples barely amount to waves. There is in the British Museum a carefully executed drawing by Claude of the group standing above the steps—St. Ursula holding the cross of St. George and surrounded by her maiden suite. Note in this picture the classical portico to the left and the mediæval fortress behind the ships to the right; also the carefully drawn family luggage, among it a very modern-looking "hold-all." St. Ursula and her companions have evidently made careful preparations for their journey.

5. The "Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba" (No. 14), or to follow the now nearly obliterated inscription, "*La Reine de Saba va trouver Salomon.*" A further inscription in the left corner states that this picture was painted for the Duc de Bouillon in 1648. Of this great nobleman and of the subsequent history of the picture we have already spoken. A cool green is the prevailing tint of this marvellous work, but in spite of this we feel that some warmth is already diffused by the early morning sun. As in the "St. Ursula," it is remarkable how little the minutely detailed execution—in the rippling waves above all—has detracted from the breadth of the general effect. Turner's glowing "Carthage" hangs next to it, according to the terms of the English artist's will. The juxtaposition is a happy one, for the gold of one picture sets off the silver of the other.



CEPHALUS AND PROCRIS
National Gallery

6. The well-known "*Molino*" (No. 12)—"The Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca" according to the inscription on the picture—has been already mentioned more than once (see especially p. 78 for the contradictory evidence of Baldinucci and D'Argenville). I am, on the whole, inclined to regard this canvas as a somewhat mechanically executed replica, rather than a copy by another hand, of the Doria picture; nor do I think that we can attribute its hardness and want of keeping solely to an injudicious cleaning, as M. Michel would have us believe. There is, it must be confessed, in this picture a suspicious absence of those pearly-green tints in the middle distance so characteristic of the Claudes of this period. Compare the commonplace painting of the hillside to the left (with the Tivoli-like falls) with a similar passage in the slightly earlier "*Cephalus and Procris*" (No. 2).

These six large canvases were all painted within a few years of one another. The three following little pictures, which were presented to the nation by Sir George Beaumont, belong probably to the same early middle period.

7. The little picture of the "*Death of Procris*" (No. 55) might not perhaps at first sight be recognised as a Claude. The lurid sky, the absence of distance, and a certain brownness in the foreground and foliage may perhaps account for this—for a Claude it certainly is, and a very interesting one. The design may be found in the *Liber Veritatis* (No. 100).

8. The "*Goatherd*" (No. 58) is above all a

careful study of foliage. Perhaps this is one of the canvases that Claude painted upon in the open. There is something in the composition that calls to mind the woody landscape of Both.

9. In the "Landscape with the Angel" (No. 61), the figures of the Angel and Hagar (or perhaps the Virgin Mary), although certainly in the style of Lauri, are probably painted by Claude himself. In this little work we may note the careful drawing of the trees to the right and the manner in which the pearly tints, usually confined to the distance, are carried far forward so as to contrast somewhat abruptly with the tone of the foreground. A somewhat similar composition may be found in the drawing No. 106 of the *Liber Veritatis*. This is, I think, the picture that Sir George Beaumont was in the habit of carrying about with him in his travelling carriage. When, in 1826, he presented it, together with so many of the pictures in his collection, to the new National Gallery, he felt the loss so acutely that he begged that it might be returned to him. But the little work soon came back to the Gallery on Sir George's death in 1827. I give this story as an illustration of the enthusiasm that the works of Claude excited at this time.

10. The "Cave of Adullam," or perhaps "Sinon before Priam" (No. 6) is a striking example of Claude's later middle period. This is the picture painted in 1658 for Agostino Chigi (L.V., No 145); it remained in the Chigi family till the time of the French occupation, when it was purchased by Mr. Sloane, the enterprising



LANDSCAPE WITH THE ANGEL

National Gallery

Englishman of whom we have already spoken. The shapeless rocks to the right almost justify the diatribes of Ruskin against the landscape of the Roman Campagna. The beautiful pearly distance has suffered in a somewhat unusual fashion from cracking. There is a careful study in the British Museum of the elaborately painted weeds (mullein, etc.) that are seen in the immediate foreground.

11. The "Isle of Delos" (No. 1,018) came, as late as the year 1876, from the Wynn Ellis Collection. This is the one example of a late Claude in the National Gallery; on the parapet near the principal figures—Æneas, Anchises, and the priest—the date, 1673, may be deciphered. The picture (near in composition to L.V., No. 179) is, indeed, but a somewhat simplified, in fact rather empty, version of the beautiful "Isle of Delos" at Dresden; but it should be carefully studied, for it is the only readily accessible example of a class of latish pictures that includes the "Enchanted Castle" and the "Polyphemus." Here the greenish "bloom" is carried over almost the whole of the canvas. Notice too the elaborate drawing of the fronds and needles of the foliage.

12. The "The Trinità de' Monti" (No. 1,319) was purchased from a French collection in 1890. I have already said that I am not prepared to accept this interesting little picture as an undoubted work by Claude. There is something in the pinkish tinge of the distant buildings, the heavy painting of the trees to the right, and the tone of the sky that makes me hesitate. Besides, the incident introduced in the foreground is not

one that would recommend itself to the mind of our master. To us, however, the picture is of great interest as giving an accurate contemporary rendering of the *milieu* in which Claude lived. The left-hand part of the picture is, it must be confessed, just such a view as might be had from the back window of Claude's house.

WINDSOR.—There are five canvases by Claude among the pictures at Windsor Castle. What is perhaps the companion to the beautiful picture at Grenoble, painted for M. Passart, is a dark-green landscape with little colour, taken from above Tivoli, looking over the Campagna. Here too is another curious dark but luminous picture—the sun is struggling through the hazy air. In the corner the painter is seen at work, an umbrella held over his head by an attendant. Two early harbour scenes, one dated 1643, and an oval landscape corresponding to No. 83 of the *Liber Veritatis*, complete the tale of the Windsor pictures.

The “Europa and the Bull” at Buckingham Palace (L.V., No. 136) was bought by George IV. for 2,000 guineas. This picture is dated 1667 and is a replica of an earlier work executed for the Chigi Pope, now, it is said, in Russia. Of the etching of the same subject I have already spoken.

DULWICH.—As might be expected in the case of a collection formed at the commencement of the last century, Claude is well represented at Dulwich.



SEAPORT AT SUNSET
Dulwich Gallery

The small "Embarkation of Sta. Paola" (No. 270)—a reproduction "*en petite toile*," to use Claude's phrase, of the large canvas at Madrid, L.V., No. 49—bears the inscription "*Porto de Ostia Claudio Imp.*", and this is of interest, as showing that in the case of some at least of his harbour pieces Claude definitely proposed to reproduce scenes from classical times. This excellent little work was bought by Mr. Desenfans for £200. It is said to have formerly belonged to Prince Rupert.

The "Classical Seaport at Sunset" (No. 275) is another carefully executed picture of the same class, remarkable for its rather unusual composition.

The little "*Riposo*" (No. 211) is a charming picture with the *sfumato* pearly blues and greens characteristic of Claude's later period.

Of the "Jacob and Laban" (No. 244) I have already spoken. "One of the most genuine Claudes that I know," says Ruskin. A sepia drawing of the same composition belonging to Mr. Heseltine bears the date 1676 (or 1670), and similar figures may be doubtfully read on this picture.

I may mention that No. 320 in this gallery, "A Vintage Scene," has been attributed by some good authorities to Claude, by others to Swanevelt. Both this picture and No. 264 ("School of Claude") should be carefully studied.

WALLACE COLLECTION.—The two Claudes from the collection of Lord Hertford are not of great importance. They are a "Coast Scene," and

what is apparently a study for the large picture at Munich, "The Expulsion of Hagar" (L.V., No. 173).

ENGLISH PRIVATE GALLERIES

The limits of space alone make it quite impossible in a little book like this to give any methodical account of the endless series of pictures that bear the name of Claude in the private galleries of England. Among the fifty or sixty works in English collections that are catalogued in the appendix to Lady Dilke's *Life*, and among the 135 pictures attributed to Claude by Waagen, in his work on the *Art Treasures of Great Britain*, there are several, especially in the latter book, that are certainly not by the master. There are others that are so utterly ruined or repainted that they are quite useless as material for the study of the artist. A careful and unbiassed criticism of our English Claudes would be of great value—a gigantic task, which it would be out of place to undertake here.

As many as seventy-five oil pictures by Claude (in a few cases the same picture has been lent more than once) have since the year 1870 been contributed to the winter exhibitions of the Royal Academy. Quite lately, in 1902, there were thirty-four Claudes on the walls of Burlington House, and these pictures were in this case supplemented by a choice collection of sixty-eight drawings.

Let us now pass rapidly through the principal

English collections where important works by Claude are to be found.

DUKE OF WESTMINSTER.—At Grosvenor House are as many as nine pictures by Claude, most of which have been lent at one time or another to public exhibitions. The little "Landscape with Peasants Dancing" closely corresponds to the etching "The Village Dance" of 1651. The "Decline of the Roman Empire" is a somewhat smaller replica of Lord Radnor's famous picture—they were both at Burlington House in 1902. The "Golden Calf" and the strangely composed "Mount Thabor" are examples of those elaborate compositions with biblical incidents incongruously introduced so ridiculed by Ruskin. On the other hand, in the little octagonal landscape painted on copper, a "*Riposo*" with palm trees and rich foliage, the figures are happily placed.

LORD NORTHBROOK.—Among the Baring pictures now belonging to Lord Northbrook are some excellent examples of Claude. Indeed, the silvery landscape with piping goatherd is in its way unsurpassed; as long ago as 1811 this little picture fetched over 600 guineas at Lord Kinnaid's sale. Here too is the "*Dessinateur*," very close to the early etching and to No. 44 of the "Liber." The "Mill by the Tiber," a pastoral scene with a luminous sky, and the late and decadent "Æneas pursuing a Stag," were bought by Ottley from the Colonna Palace.

EARL OF LEICESTER.—At Holkham Hall are several pictures by Claude, as well as a most important series of drawings, many of which were seen at Burlington House in 1879 and 1902. I will only mention the large "Apollo and Marsyas," highly praised by Waagen.

EARL OF ELLESMERE.—At Bridgewater House, the little landscape which corresponds to No. 101 of the *Liber Veritatis* gives a charming rendering of the freshness of morning. The "Apulian Shepherd," dated 1657 (the name perhaps suggested the title of Turner's Claude-like "Apuleia" of 1814), and the "Moses and the Burning Bush" of 1654, with cool, silvery greens, are important pictures of the later middle period. But the first place among the Claudes in the gallery must be given to the "Demosthenes by the Sea-shore," painted in 1667 for M. de Bourlemont, one of the most famous of Claude's sea-pieces, firmly painted and well preserved (L.V., No. 171).

LORD YARBOROUGH.—The three Claudes from Brocklesby were all shown at Burlington House in 1902. "*La Récompense du Village*" is a version of the "*Fête Villageoise*," painted in 1639 for Urban VIII., and now in the Louvre (L.V., No. 13). I am quite unable to reconcile the somewhat northern aspect of the landscape and the happily grouped rustic figures in this picture with the date, 1669, said to be visible on it. Perhaps, in this as in some other cases, the third

figure has been misread. The "Seaport," with the curious yellow sunset sky, is a subject treated several times by Claude, first perhaps in an early etching and again as late as 1674, in pictures now at Munich and St. Petersburg (cf. L.V., No. 5). The "Hagar with the Angel," hard and unpleasant in colour, has been identified with No. 133 of the *Liber Veritatis* (1654).

LORD LECONFIELD.—At Petworth is one of the most famous of Claude's landscapes. The large "Jacob and Laban" was painted in 1656 for Signor Cardello, and has, I think, been long in England. This silvery landscape, with its delicate gradations and far-stretching champaign, is well known by the engraving of Woollett. The foreground has become very dark (L.V., 134).

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.—The most important of the Claudes at Holkar and at Chatsworth were inherited not long since from the Earl of Burlington. The "Parnassus" (L.V., No. 126), a huge canvas (7 feet by 9 feet), was painted in 1652 for the Cardinal Pamfili. The large upright "*Riposo*" (8 feet by 5 feet) is a somewhat earlier work, probably that executed for the Cardinal Crescenzo (L.V., No. 88). The eminent French critic M. Bürger (Thoré) in his account of the "*Trésors d'Art*" at Manchester, in 1855 (there were fifteen Claudes shown on this occasion), dwells upon these works—they are worth £4,000 each, he says. He states that the figures in the first are by Allegrini, and those in the

second by Sassoferrato, on what authority I do not know.¹

The "Mercury and Battus" (L.V., No. 159) at Chatsworth—there are other pictures with this title at Holkar—was painted in 1663 "*pour Anvers*." This once-beautiful picture is now disfigured by long streaks of imperfectly removed varnish.

EARL OF RADNOR.—I have already spoken of the Longford Castle Claudes—the "Rise" and the "Fall of the Roman Empire" (Nos. 122 and 82 of the L.V.). They were at Burlington House in 1873 and 1902.

But this summary record by no means exhausts the tale of even the more important Claudes in English collections. In addition to those already mentioned, there are five pictures attributed to the master at Belvoir Castle; three at Apsley House; Lord Mount-Temple has two (at Burlington House in 1884); Captain Holford, at Dorchester House, two landscapes that came from Lord Methuen's collection. Others are in the galleries of the Duke of Buccleuch, the Marquess of Bute, Lord Ashburton, and of the Duke of Bedford.

Let me now call attention to a few pictures by Claude that for the most part stand alone in various collections, confining myself to those that I have myself lately had an opportunity of examin-

¹ M. Bürger, I may mention, calls attention to the essentially non-French character of Claude's art.

ing—to the often-mentioned “Enchanted Castle” above all, more properly “Psyche expelled from the Castle of Eros,” painted in 1664 for the *Contestabile Colonna*; to Mr. W. B. Beaumont’s “Philip baptising the Eunuch,” a late picture, perhaps to be identified with No. 191 of the “*Liber*”; to Sir James Knowles’ “Bridge over the Anio,” a carefully painted early landscape of great beauty that came from the Wynn Ellis Collection; to the Marquess of Lansdowne’s brilliant little harbour scene (at Burlington House in 1902); to Mr. A. J. Roberts’ curious “Burning of the Greek Ships” (L.V., No. 71); and finally to Colonel Williams’ large upright “Flight into Egypt,” a fine composition, somewhat loosely painted; in this, as in some other of Claude’s pictures, the strange brick-red tint in the sky is to be regarded as an indication of sunset. It should be noted that while this picture is dated 1662, the corresponding drawing, No. 158 of the *Liber Veritatis*, is in two places inscribed 1663. The drawing, then, in this case at least, is no study, but rather a record of the oil picture.

In conclusion a word may be said of the famous Altieri Claudes, remarkable as the latest instance of important pictures by the master being sold by public auction in England. These canvases have passed to America—they are, indeed, the only important works by Claude that have so far crossed the Atlantic.

Early in the last century Mr. Fagan, our consul at Naples, bought from the Prince Altieri two large pictures by Claude—the “Sacrifice to

Apollo" and the "Landing of Æneas" (L.V., Nos. 157 and 185). Of these, the last was painted for the Altieri family, and had remained in their hands ever since. These large canvases were smuggled over to England, and after many adventures passed into the Fonthill Collection. They were sold by Mr. Beckford for £12,000, and subsequently found their way into Sir Philip Miles' gallery at Leigh Court. When that collection was broken up in 1884, these pictures were sold at Christie's, the first for £6,090 and the other for £3,990, and they now belong to one of the Vanderbilt family. The "Temple of Apollo," dated 1663, is one of Claude's elaborate *machines*. It was much admired by the old connoisseurs, and has been engraved several times—by Woollett among others. The "Landing of Æneas" was painted as late as 1675, and it is essentially a picture of the *décadence* of the master.

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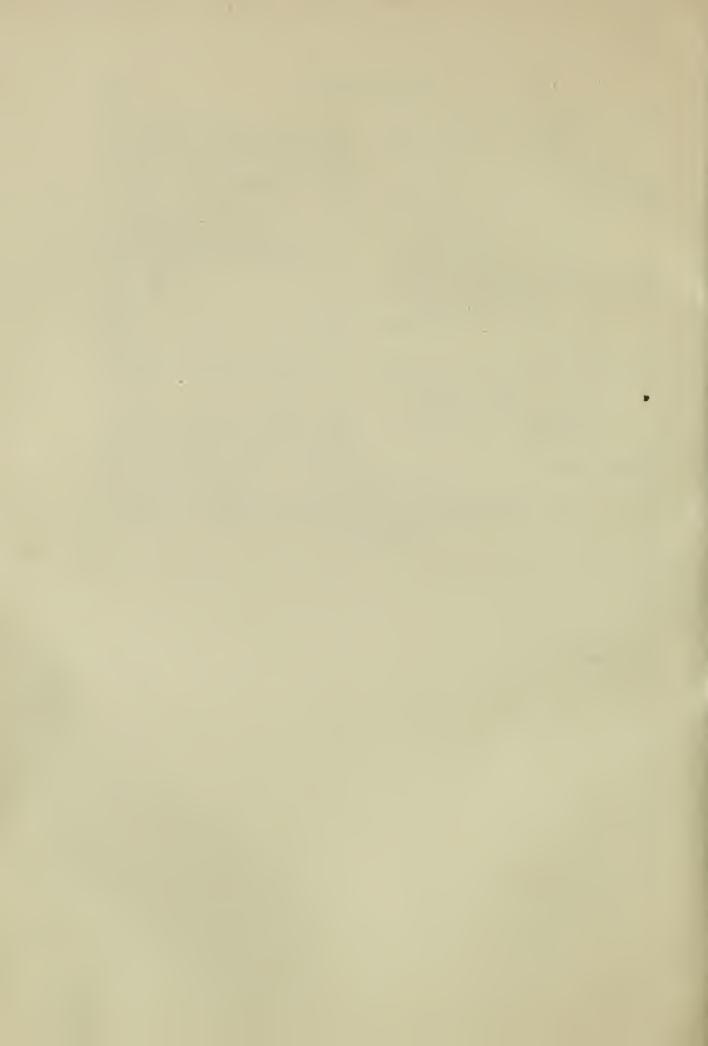
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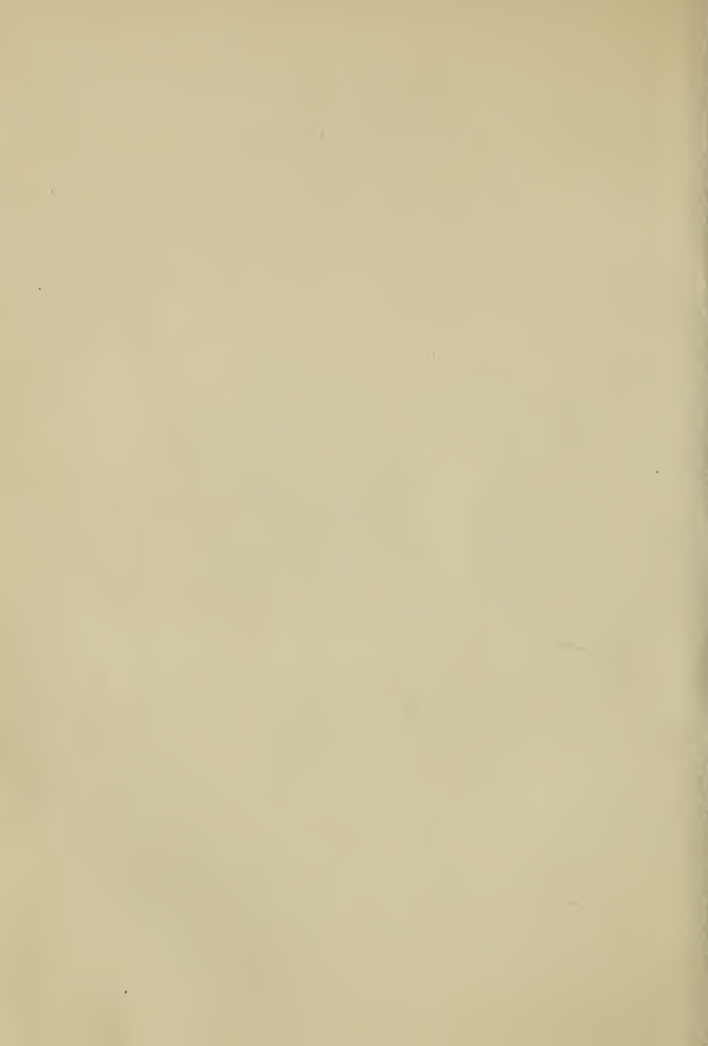
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